

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Shipyard workers beat navy witch-hunt

Socialist  
lawsuit  
exposes  
gov't  
conspiracy

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Inside: navy documents  
on firing plot



Militant/Fred Stanton

BROOKLYN NAVY YARD—FBI and Naval Intelligence teamed up to get these pipefitters fired. They won rehiring and back pay, and brought to light a plot aimed at disrupting antiwar sentiment among workers and sailors. From left, Susan Wald, Robert Dees, Steve Smith, Marilyn Vogt, Bill Henry.

## HANDS OFF POLAND!

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World  
outrage  
over  
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murders

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## License to kill

On December 4 the Justice Department issued guidelines for FBI informers. Under the guise of defining the legal limits on these finks and provocateurs, the guidelines actually give a written seal of approval to stepped-up FBI crimes—up to and including murder.

The guidelines say that outright illegal acts are approved for informers whenever “the conduct is necessary to obtain information” and “this need outweighs the seriousness of the conduct involved.”

Such actions, in FBI lingo, are termed “otherwise criminal” activity.

The New York *Daily News* reported that at the news conference where the guidelines were announced, FBI Director William Webster gave one example of “otherwise criminal” activity, the case of Gary Rowe.

A former FBI informer in the Ku Klux Klan, Rowe admits to being involved in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights demonstrator who was shot to death in Alabama.

Asked if the new guidelines would have permitted Rowe to ride with klansmen in a car to murder Liuzzo, Webster said, “It’s okay if he shoots to miss.”

Then he added that if Rowe shot to kill, the FBI would not necessarily have to report the murder to local authorities—it would depend on whether the informant’s role outweighed the individual killing!

For cover, the guidelines say that “the lawful activities of legitimate organizations are, of course, not subject to investigation.”

“However,” the Justice Department hastens to add, “individual members of such organizations may be independently involved in criminal activities.” The FBI can send in informers to find out—or more likely, to try to concoct illegal activity that can be used to victimize the organization.

The guidelines instruct the FBI to be particularly careful when “informant or confidential source will make use of formal or informal affiliation with an organization that is predominantly engaged in political activity.”

Such organizations—trade unions, socialist parties, civil rights groups, antidraft organizations—are in fact the *main* groups the FBI is targeting. And they have no other methods for disrupting these legal organizations *except* criminal ones.

The guidelines in fact admit this. The use of informants “may involve an element of deception, intrusion into the privacy of individuals, or cooperation with persons whose reliability and motivation can be open to question,” the rules state. But informers are “often essential

to the effectiveness of . . . investigations.”

There is a way to fight back against the FBI’s labor spies and agents provocateurs. On March 16 the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance is putting these crooks on trial. Your support to the SWP-YSA lawsuit is an important way to help expose government crimes and organize to end them.

## John Lennon

John Lennon, the musician and composer, was murdered December 8 in New York City. The man arrested for gunning him down is an ex-security cop.

Lennon grew up in a working-class family in Liverpool, Great Britain. Along with three other musicians he formed the Beatles, the internationally renowned rock and roll band, in the 1960s.

The most politically outspoken of the group, Lennon became one of the symbols of the youth radicalization.

In 1969, protesting Britain’s role in the Nigerian-Biafran war and its backing for the U.S. war in Vietnam, Lennon renounced his Order of British Empire award given to the Beatles by the Queen.

He continued to publicly oppose the Vietnam war. He and his companion, Yoko Ono, were featured entertainers at the April 22, 1972, antiwar rally in New York City, where they sang “Give Peace a Chance.”

Because of his views, Lennon was a target of the U.S. government that same year. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service tried to deport him and Ono from this country, based on a 1968 London drug possession charge.

Lennon maintained that his opposition to the war—not the drug rap—was the real motivation for the deportation attempt. He won the case, which has since served as an example for other noncitizens facing political harassment by the INS.

Within minutes of Lennon’s murder December 8, a crowd gathered outside his apartment building to express shock and outrage. Vigils have continued.

Although no facts have come out to indicate the slaying was politically motivated, there is a big question on the minds of stunned mourners: why is this society so wracked with irrational hatred and violence?

Crazed murderers like the one who took Lennon’s life are not aberrations but products

of the decaying capitalist social order that breeds violence.

Capitalist violence begins on the assembly lines in the factories and is extended by the cops to the streets of Black, Latino, and other working-class communities. It is worldwide. The slaughter of more than 10,000 people by the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador this year is but the latest example.

John Lennon’s contributions—both as an artist and as an opponent of that system of violence—will be remembered.

## March January 15

On January 15, in Washington, D.C., entertainer Stevie Wonder will lead a march to demand that Martin Luther King’s birthday be made a national holiday.

This demonstration and solidarity actions in other cities are an opportunity to honor Dr. King and to speak out in support of Black rights as he did.

This is a critical time for Black rights supporters to mobilize in protest. Racist bigots have taken aim at Black rights on several fronts. These include:

Killer cops who have murdered scores of Blacks around the country in the last several months alone.

The brutal murders of Black men in Buffalo. The murders and disappearances of fifteen Black children in Atlanta.

Moves by the Carter Congress and Ronald Reagan to gut busing, fair housing, voting rights, and affirmative action.

The outrageous acquittal of Klan and Nazi assassins of Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The Klan’s brazen declaration that it is operating paramilitary training camps.

These are in addition to the day-to-day exploitation and racist victimization that every Black person in this country is aware of:

The disproportionate unemployment and low wages, the unfit housing, unequal educational opportunities, the racist epithets of right-wing scum.

The attacks on Black rights are led by the same forces that are challenging the rights of women, of unionists, and of young people.

We can protest all these injustices in paying tribute to Dr. King.

The January 15 actions are an opportunity to show that the Klan, Nazis, segregationists, and other bigots do not speak for the majority of American working people.

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# Why Moscow threatens to invade Poland

By Fred Feldman

DEC. 10—Faced with the growth and strengthening of Poland's multi-million-member anti-Stalinist union movement, the Soviet bureaucracy is taking steps toward massive military intervention against the Polish workers.

Recent days have seen an escalation of news leaks about Soviet and East German troop movements near Poland's borders. Reservists were reportedly called up for military service in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

The latest moves followed a December 5 meeting of the Warsaw Pact governments (the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Romania). They declared that "the Polish people can firmly count on the fraternal solidarity and support" of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

In the twisted vocabulary of Stalinism, such "solidarity" comes on bayonets. Similar threats preceded the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Polish army's high command has been issuing almost daily communiques threatening to take action against the union movement.

And one top Polish official indicated the government might back a Soviet military operation against the workers. Jozef Klasa, a party official in charge of the mass media, declared the government had "the right and the duty" to seek military help from other Stalinist dictatorships if "socialism"—meaning the rule of the bureaucracy—was threatened.

The Polish Communist Party itself is deeply divided, however, with many



Lech Walesa, center, and unionists at steel mill. Polish workers seek to defend their gains.

members favoring broader concessions to the workers.

## Workers respond

The leaders of Solidarity have called on workers to avoid strikes for the time being. They are determined to maintain the unity of the movement and to give the bureaucracy no pretext for attacking.

But the workers are far from having been intimidated in face of the threatened crackdown. More than 300,000 people reportedly gathered outside the Gdansk shipyard December 7 to commemorate workers who were killed in previous struggles for democratic rights and equality.

On December 8 union leader Lech Walesa responded to the growing

threats. "If the government does not stop its provocations," he warned, "then Solidarity will strike a very serious blow. The entire country will be involved."

"We don't want strikes at all, but solutions will be adapted to circumstances."

And he added, "You can't use force to make people work efficiently. Force is not the solution."

And in a sign that Poland's workers do not stand alone, an organization claiming to represent 500,000 private farmers called December 9 for a meeting to discuss means of forcing the government to register them as an independent union.

Poland's 3.5 million private farmers account for three-quarters of the coun-

try's agricultural production. Leaders of the group said they would be consulting with the leaders of the unions about what action to take.

## Church backs Stalinists

While farmers and others rally to the workers movement, the Catholic Church hierarchy is drawing closer to the enemies of the workers.

"Church leaders say they feel compelled to support the party because it is the only administrative power in Poland," reported the December 5 *Wall Street Journal*. "If the party is in disarray, so is the country," says a church official in Warsaw. "If the party can show signs of dominating the situation, the Soviets will stay away."

The *Journal* report described Father Henryk Jankowski, a parish priest in the union center of Gdansk, as "horrified at calls for the church to support the workers' demands openly. 'It would do great harm for the church to become caught in politics because, right now, its relations with the government aren't bad.'"

## Blow to workers of world

Like the Kremlin's invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956, a Soviet military move against the Polish workers would deal a brutal blow to the entire world revolution. It would strike at the interests of working people not only in Poland but around the world.

In particular, a Soviet invasion would hand the U.S. rulers a priceless propaganda weapon in their drive to overcome domestic opposition to their own war plans. It would give them cover to step up U.S. military interven-

*Continued on next page*

# Kremlin's moves aid Washington's war drive

By Suzanne Haig

The threat of Soviet intervention hangs over the heads of the Polish working class.

The U.S. government and capitalist media have lost no time in sounding the alarm bells and threatening dire consequences.

Washington has sent four radar warning aircraft to Ramstein Air Force Base in West Germany to monitor Soviet troop movements in Eastern Europe, according to the December 10 *Washington Post*.

A meeting of NATO defense ministers taking place in Brussels discussed further responses to the Soviet threats.

President Carter stated December 3 that U.S. policies and attitudes "toward the Soviet Union would be directly and very adversely affected by any Soviet use of force in Poland."

Secretary of State Muskie warned the Soviet Union of the "tremendous costs" they would face in invading Poland from the resistance of the Pol-

ish people and possible military action by the Western powers.

Contrary to the appearance Carter and Muskie are trying to create, their threats against Moscow have nothing to do with sympathy or concern for the Polish workers. From the opening days of the strike by shipyard workers in Gdansk to the present moment, the U.S. government has been exploiting developments in Poland diplomatically, politically, and militarily.

Washington has used the threat of Soviet intervention to try to line up the American people behind its murderous foreign policy.

Should the Soviets invade Poland, they would hand Washington an even greater trump card than their intervention in Afghanistan. There, opponents of the Soviet Union and the Kabul government included feudal landlords, heroin traders, and murderers of teachers. In Poland the Soviets would be crushing an anti-bureaucratic work-

ers movement, which has inspired millions around the world.

Soviet intervention in Poland would be utilized to whip up anti-Communist sentiment and to identify all revolutions and struggles for social progress with Stalinist totalitarianism. A wave of propaganda would pour out explaining the need for a massive U.S. military budget, the draft, and military interventions around the world as a means of stopping "Soviet expansionism." It would be used to present further cuts in our living standards as a "patriotic duty."

Many in Washington hope an attack by the Kremlin on the Polish workers will provide the perfect backdrop for moves toward greater military intervention in El Salvador.

Already the news from El Salvador, where Washington is backing a brutal dictatorship that responds to every protest with murder and torture, is being drowned out by the media cam-

paign around Poland.

An intervention would also make it harder for the European workers who are fighting against their governments' demands to beef up their military arsenals for "defense" against the Soviet Union. It would be a direct blow to the movement against placing cruise missiles in Europe. These missiles would be directed at Poland, as well as the Soviet Union.

The *Wall Street Journal* virtually licked its chops over the prospects for U.S. imperialism should Moscow invade. "A return to the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950s, with increased defense spending and heightened East-West tension would seem certain to follow," Karen House wrote December 8.

"European doubts about deploying tactical nuclear weapons that could strike the Soviet Union would evaporate."

*Continued on next page*

## SPECIAL HOLIDAY OFFER

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# ...Poland

Continued from preceding page

tion on the side of the murderous dictatorship in El Salvador.

Nothing could do more harm to the cause of socialism in the eyes of workers around the world than the sight of Soviet tanks rolling in to crush the Polish working class in the name of "protecting socialism." But as in the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the Kremlin's goals in threatening Poland are totally contrary to "protecting socialism."

To justify moves against Poland the Kremlin suggests that Poland's workers have become "counterrevolutionaries" who are plotting to restore capitalism.

This is hogwash, and Brezhnev and his cohorts know it better than anyone else. Far from wanting to turn the economy over to private corporations, the Polish workers want the nationalized and planned economy to be devoted to meeting the needs of working people, farmers, and youth. They want democratic rights and a voice in government decisions. The things they are fighting for are what socialism is all about.

The Kremlin bureaucracy will also pay a high price for an invasion. It will arouse the hatred of working people all over the world. The U.S., European, and Japanese imperialists are already using Moscow's threats against Poland as a pretext for stepping up the arms race and preparing economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union.

## Workers will resist

The Polish working people are certain to put up strong resistance. In 1956, Moscow prepared to invade Poland in response to an earlier upsurge, which brought to power a wing of the Communist Party that was thought to be too independent of Moscow. At that time mass demonstrations, strikes, the formation of workers councils, and moves by a section of the officials to arm the workers forced Moscow to retreat.

Today the anti-Stalinist unions have taken deep root in Poland. The movement today is at least as broad, better organized, and far more independent of the bureaucratic regime than the movement of 1956. It is finding sympathy among working people in the rest of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union (especially in the Baltic states and the Ukraine).

Moscow knows it would not be able to wipe out the workers movement in Poland without a long, difficult, and costly struggle—one which would further undermine Stalinist rule throughout the Soviet bloc.

## Power at stake

Yet, despite the great risks, the Kremlin bureaucrats appear to be moving inexorably toward an attempt to crush the Polish workers.

That is because the risks of intervention are far outweighed by the threat the Polish struggle poses to the power and privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy itself.

The privileged bureaucratic castes that run Poland—as well as the Soviet Union and the other East European countries—can survive only by depriving workers of all rights to organize and express themselves.

Once the workers begin to feel their own power and assert their right to rule, the bureaucratic caste crumbles rapidly—a process that is under way in Poland and was seen earlier in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Past experience has indicated that it can be propped up only by the intervention of an outside force—the Soviet army.

A success for the workers in one country like Poland will find many imitators in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. If a movement of similar scope were to take place in the USSR, the bureaucratic caste would find itself in free fall with little prospect of regaining its footing.

The fact that the bureaucracy requires totalitarian methods is a sign of its social weakness and vulnerability. It lacks the stability and the economically rooted power of a ruling class like the American capitalists.

In the United States, private ownership of the means of production allows the capitalist class to exploit us and to make all key political and economic decisions—regardless of elections and the limited freedoms of speech and press that exist. "You can vote Rockefeller out of office," a saying goes, "but you can't vote him out of power."

When working people begin to challenge capitalist rule, however, they find that the capitalists don't hesitate to try to throw democratic rights overboard. The totalitarian repression that they often institute can match or even surpass that of the Stalinists. (Germany under Hitler and El Salvador today are examples.)

In a capitalist country the daily economic relations—the fact that we can survive only by working for them,

and that they own what we produce—continually reinforce the capitalists' political power. Increased productivity increases the wealth of the ruling class, and gives it more instruments with which to exploit us and the working people of the whole world. Every car and ingot of steel we produce contributes to the bosses' profits, making them richer and stronger.

## Workers states

Matters are different in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The elimination of capitalism in the Soviet Union after 1917 and in Eastern Europe after the end of World War II created an economic structure—nationalized industry and planned economy—that is in the interests of working people.

The consolidation of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death in 1924, and in Eastern Europe under Soviet occupation in the late 1940s, did not eliminate this progressive economic structure. That is why socialists call these regimes *workers states*.

The nationalized and planned economies make possible unprecedented advances toward ending want and inequality. But the rule of the bureaucratic caste stands in the way.

Like the capitalists, the bureaucrats wallow in luxury skimmed off the top of what the workers produce. But the bureaucracy *owns* no factories, mines, or farms. It cannot pass them on to its children or dispose of them as it wishes.

The bureaucrats play no necessary role in the economy—they are parasites. They disrupt the economy by their search for privileges, by corruption, by sheer incompetence and mismanagement, and, above all, by silencing the voice of the producing classes.

Since the bureaucracy can assure its privileged position only by totalitarian control of the state apparatus, it cannot allow free elections, parties that are not under the Stalinists' thumbs, a free press, free unions, or other means by which the working people might challenge them.

## Fundamental challenge

But the effect of rising wealth and productivity in a workers state is the opposite of its role under capitalism. The fact that Poland has risen from being a relatively backward country before World War II to a modern industrial power with a highly productive working class has undermined the power of the bureaucracy and strength-

ened that of the workers.

These advances help account for the organization and confidence of the Polish workers—their conviction that they can lead society.

The formation of strong trade unions in Poland represented a direct, massive, and conscious challenge to bureaucratic rule by millions of workers.

The fact that Poland is a workers state helps account for the fact that this movement operates on a vastly higher political and social level than the U.S. unions. Under conditions of private ownership of industry, our unions have largely been restricted to bargaining over wages, hours, and working conditions with no say over what is produced or why. But the anti-Stalinist unions in Poland directly pose the right of working people to determine production priorities and government policies.

Lech Walesa put the difference well in a recent interview: "In our country, things are more simple than they are in the West, because we all form the state and we are closer to the responsibility. There is no one between us and the state, no factory owner."

## A fight for socialism

A December 8 dispatch from Tass, the Soviet news agency, describes the union movement as in the hands of "counterrevolutionary groups" that seek to overthrow "socialism." That is Orwellian doubletalk.

The Polish workers and their allies are the only real guardians of the conquests of the Polish revolution, including the nationalized, planned economy. It is the bureaucrats—in Poland and Moscow—who undermine and endanger these gains.

It is the Stalinist rulers who stand for privilege, inequality, and government by a minority. It is they who use repressive measures to try to transform the workers into unthinking tools at the service of high-living managers. This is the opposite of socialism.

The Polish workers are fighting to end all that, and the Kremlin bureaucrats know it. Their talk about the Polish workers seeking to restore capitalism is just bait for suckers, and a voluntary contribution from the bureaucrats to Washington's anticommunist propaganda.

The Kremlin rulers are moving toward invasion today because they know that the Polish workers' struggle for socialism is inspiring others well beyond the Polish borders.

Hands off Poland!

# ...war drive

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Washington and the media are stepping up their use of the crimes of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to attack socialism. A Soviet invasion of Poland would allow them to multiply the propaganda a hundred times.

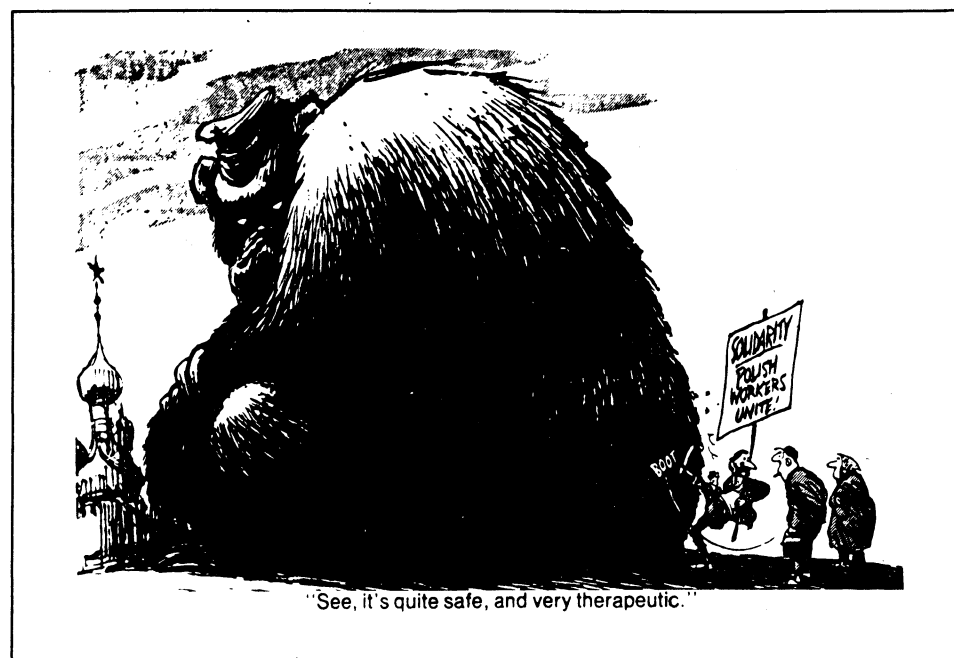
The August 21 *Christian Science Monitor* summed up the theme when it wrote: "What is billed as a Workers' Paradise is, in fact, a workers prison."

This propaganda gets a boost when Moscow equates the totalitarian bureaucracy in Warsaw with socialism, and decries any attack on the bureaucracy as "antisocialist agitation."

Socialism means the absence of political rights, the capitalists say. By implication, capitalism means just the opposite. (Tell that to the people of El Salvador—or to Blacks in Buffalo, Atlanta, or Greensboro!)

But the same propagandists never answer one question: If this is true, why do the Polish workers show no interest in going back to capitalism? Why don't any of them advocate turning the steel mills, shipyards, railroads, and mines over to individual capitalists? Instead, they insist that they favor nationalization of industry and a planned economy.

They go further and say that the



U.S. press: Taking swipe at Moscow while depicting workers as strike-happy and playing a risky game.

industry should be controlled and the economic plan determined by the working people themselves. That's the *opposite* of capitalism.

And that's why Washington doesn't have an ounce of sympathy for the Polish workers.

In fact, they supported the austerity measures taken by the Gierek govern-

ment that sparked the upsurge. These measures were taken under the pressure of U.S. and European banks that were demanding extortionate interest rates for their loans to the Polish government.

As Solidarity, the anti-Stalinist workers movement, has grown stronger and the Stalinist regime weaker, Washington and the media

have become more insistent in demanding that the workers retreat.

According to the *New York Times*, State Department officials warned November 26 that "continued demands by the workers might provoke a military crackdown by Polish or Soviet forces."

One of *Time* magazine's December 8 headlines was "Strike-happy unions continue their risky game with Moscow." *Time* quoted one "worried East bloc specialist" who said of the workers' demands for an end to abuses by the secret police: "This is absolute foolhardiness."

"The Polish workers are asking for it" is the new tack being taken, even while the same publications blast away at Moscow.

Zbigniew Brzezinski called on the workers to display "compromise, restraint and moderation." According to Lars-Erik Nelson, writing in the *New York Daily News*, Brzezinski "conceded that his message amounted to an appeal to Polish workers to 'cool it.'"

Washington's propaganda campaign around Poland is not help to the Polish workers. Like Moscow, Washington is determined to see their movement tamed and broken.

And the imperialist militarization drive that lies behind the moral posturing is a threat to Polish workers, just as it is a deadly threat to working people here and in the rest of the world.





Rally at Lenin Shipyard during Gdansk general strike

# An American steelworker visits Poland's Solidarity

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Gary Fields, a machinist at Danly Machine Corporation here, like most workers, wanted to take his two weeks vacation somewhere he could get to cheaply and stay at inexpensively.

He also wanted to learn something.

So he got a bargain-basement flight to Poland, stayed with friends, and got more than a change of pace from his second-shift job.

He saw history in the making.

Fields, a twenty-five-year-old member of the Young Socialist Alliance and United Steelworkers Local 15271, stayed in Bydgoszcz, a major industrial city of 450,000 people.

He also visited Gdansk, ninety miles north, the political center of Poland's labor upsurge and national headquarters of Solidarity, the country's independent union.

## 'Solidarity is everywhere'

The friends who put him up, Fields told the *Militant*, are like many of the people building Solidarity.

Iza, a community college teacher, is a delegate elected by co-workers to Solidarity's regional committee. She's twenty-five.

Her husband, Andrew, is a soldier who has been in the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP)—the Communist Party—for four years. He's twenty-seven and backs Solidarity too.

"I asked him about the support Solidarity has in his party cell [neighborhood branch] and the army," Fields said. "He told me his entire platoon supported Solidarity, that 'everybody in my cell thinks like me.' That's twenty or so people.

"That's what Solidarity is like," Fields said, "it's everywhere."

Huge banners deck the train stations, plant gates, buses, high schools, and colleges. "People even have signs in their windows at home," Fields said.

When he went into big train station in Posnan, Fields saw a gigantic banner that said, "We order the government to register Solidarity," a reference to the fight waged by the union to have its charter accepted by the state.

"I saw no visible signs of the government-dominated trade unions any-

where. They exist in name only," Fields said.

"There are no progovernment banners, nothing. And the police are afraid to touch the Solidarity banners. In fact, you don't see police on the street that much, only near the plant gates."

## 'From the bottom up'

Fields's friend Iza introduced him to numerous Solidarity activists, translating their conversations.

The people he met were "overwhelmingly young, in their early twenties," Fields said.

A twenty-five-year-old electrical worker, a central leader of Bydgoszcz Solidarity, "told me Solidarity wants, in his words, 'to transform the socialist system in Poland from the bottom up.' They want an extension of democracy, starting with greater decision-making in the factory," Fields said. "He told me he was a supporter of the socialist system."

Naturally, Fields found that the level of political consciousness varies among different workers.

"But I didn't meet anyone, anywhere, who said they wanted capitalism," he said.

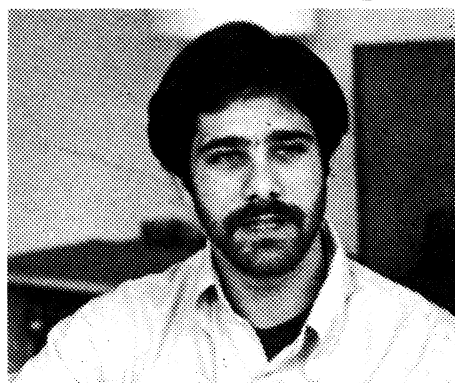
Because the PUWP exercises dictatorial control over every aspect of society, working people identify its tyrannical practices with communism.

"So, if you say you're a socialist, it's as if you're saying you're in the party. And there is nothing but hatred for the party—or, more precisely, the party leadership," Fields said.

"You can be talking with a Solidarity member about the struggle for workers' democracy and workers' control in the factories and then they'll say, 'But I'm not political,' because to them 'politics' means the party and the government," Fields said.

The Solidarity members Fields talked with "operate from the framework that all the power of society should be under control of the workers. But they are not controlling every aspect of their own destiny. That's the contradiction.

"Because there is no private ownership [of industry] and because of their



GARY FIELDS

Militant/Jon Hillson

expectations of what they should have, this puts them in a stronger position than workers under capitalism."

## Different views

In his discussions, Fields found different views of what Solidarity should be and should do. Some workers favor Solidarity maintaining itself as an independent union, with a program of increased workers' control over factory conditions and production quotas, higher wages, and an end to government censorship.

Other militants he talked with "see a dynamic unfolding that goes beyond unionism—a dynamic which, if they seek a major say in economic planning on a regional and national level, leads to a major showdown with the government," Fields said.

One leader said he thought Solidarity has become an alternate "center of power" already.

But these leaders, Fields said, "are very cautious. They kept saying they wanted to take one step at a time, even though they see big developments coming."

This caution is prompted by deep concern about a Soviet invasion.

"Everyone I talked with saw that as a real possibility," Fields emphasized.

## Breaking media monopoly

Despite the domination of the media by the PUWP and the government, Solidarity gets its message out.

The union publishes a national daily newspaper, and its regional affiliates publish weekly journals. In many cities, daily bulletins are posted on walls, "and people just line up to read them

on street corners," Fields said.

Breaking the media monopoly is important to Solidarity, Fields said, "because everybody knows the government lies. No one believes the official press."

He described a case in point.

The government claimed the country's potato production quota had been exceeded by 50 percent, and thus it was going to export that surplus. But Solidarity members discovered that the quota had *fallen short* by 20 percent, which meant the proposed export would result in a massive shortage.

Solidarity had won the demand that exports could only be made on the basis of surplus through the Gdansk general strike last summer.

The fight to gain access to information is necessary in the workers' battle to force implementation of that demand.

This is all part of Solidarity's response to the crisis in Poland's economy produced by the misrule of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"Poland exports ham, but you can't buy it in the stores. Sometimes it takes five days to get potatoes. People start lining up in the middle of the night for stores that open the next day," Fields said.

## Aid for farmers

"Solidarity has a program to help the farmers," Fields said, which calls for government credits to finance the purchase of modern equipment.

Students are also rallying to Solidarity, he said, organizing new, independent university and high school organizations.

Even small shops, from bakeries to grocery stores, display Solidarity's placards in their windows.

Thus, Fields said, "Solidarity has become a pole of attraction for all the pent-up anger and frustration in society."

He had visited Poland in 1975 and 1977. The difference between then and now struck him.

"People have a sense that change is possible. There is exuberance, enthusiasm. People discuss things waiting in line. People are a lot more alive, energetic, because there is hope," he said.

"I went over thinking a lot about religion," Fields said, "but it's not such a big thing. Poland is overwhelmingly Catholic, but the church didn't come up much in discussion. I see more pictures of the Pope in Chicago than I saw in Poland."

Because of the totalitarian rule of the bureaucracy, Fields said, the church is like a haven. But among the militants in Solidarity, "religion wasn't a big factor in doing things."

His friend Iza, the Solidarity provincial committee delegate, "goes to church pretty much," while her husband, the pro-Solidarity soldier and PUWP member, "doesn't have anything to do with religion." It isn't an issue between them.

## Leaders accountable

In Solidarity, "there's a close connection between the rank and file and the leadership. The leadership is completely accountable to the members," Fields said.

In Gdansk, Solidarity members introduced Fields to Lech Walesa, the union's central national leader.

"We didn't talk long because he had to go somewhere, but we chatted and he was very friendly. I asked some workers who Walesa usually talked with. They said 'everybody.'"

"Now, no steelworker in the United States can just pop into [USWA President Lloyd] McBride's office and say, 'Hi Lloyd, I just wanted to talk to you and tell you a few ideas I have about how to build the union.'"

What Fields saw convinced him that "a whole new form of unionism, open, with everybody participating" is emerging in Poland. It's a workers movement leading the struggle for socialism.

In the big struggles that lie ahead, Solidarity's strength is deeply rooted. That's because, as Gary Fields saw, "the leaders are the workers."

# Killings spark protests, church deeply involved

By Stu Singer

Last week's *Militant* printed the full text of a "dissent paper," written by State Department and other government officials, which exposes the U.S. secret war in Central America. One of the most revealing sections of the document explained how the government tries to manipulate public opinion.

It said, "Media coverage of El Salvador has been responsive to official government policies," including, "understatement of the 'human rights' dimension [and] effective use of the 'extremists of the right and left' formula."

The authors also warned that U.S. policy was threatened by Catholic Church "support for opposition forces and against US intervention" in El Salvador.

In the month since the dissent paper was released, Washington's plans for keeping the bloody Salvadoran junta in power have suffered blows on both counts. Significant cracks have appeared in the media cover-up of the junta's crimes, and church forces have stepped up their involvement in solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution.

The process began with the reporting on the November 27 murder of six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the political coalition of opposition groups in El Salvador. News reports, and even statements by some U.S. officials, could not avoid the evidence that Salvadoran armed forces were involved.

Just as protests were organized against those killings, word came out about the rape, torture, and murder of four American women by Salvadoran rightists. These reports were explicit about the involvement of troops of the U.S.-backed junta.

In some cases the news of the killings of the three nuns and the missionary came literally as people were

gathering to protest the killings of the FDR leaders.

In New York City, for example, 2,000 protesters arrived at St. Patrick's Cathedral for a memorial mass as the evening newspapers headlined the brutal killings. New York Cardinal Terence Cooke unexpectedly presided at the mass and issued a strong statement against U.S. backing of the Salvadoran regime.

Large protests have taken place in other cities throughout the country, and many more are planned.

The protests have begun to receive extensive publicity in the news media. Unprecedented support from church groups, and increasingly from union officials, is developing.

In Cleveland, where two of the victims were from, a special memorial mass was attended by 3,000 people. Bishop-delegate Anthony Pilla spoke, quoting slain Salvadoran Archbishop Romero's statement demanding the United States stop sending military aid to El Salvador.

Activists in El Salvador solidarity in Cleveland report that many nuns have started to work with them. Cleveland is a center for Catholic missionary work in El Salvador. Other nuns and missionaries still in that country are from Cleveland, and there are a number of people in Cleveland who worked there.

A number of union officials have become involved in the protest actions for the first time. In Minneapolis, United Auto Workers International Representative Bob Killeen sent a telegram to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie demanding an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador "until such time as a government . . . is in power that will protect the democratic rights of the entire nation."

In northern Minnesota, Richard Blin, editor of the AFL-CIO paper *Labor World*, and Gerald Cleveland,

*Continued on page 23*

# Salvador rebels appeal to U.S. youth

In November a delegation of American socialists visited Cuba to learn more about the revolution there. We were in Cuba when the brutal assassination of six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front took place in El Salvador.

We met two leaders of the General Association of Salvadoran University Students, who were in transit in Cuba after attending a meeting of the International Union of Students in Berlin.

Oscar Bonilla, president, and Oscar Abarta, liaison secretary of the Salvadoran student group, held several discussions with members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. They gave us the following message to the youth of the United States.

—Nelson González

\* \* \*

In September in a meeting we had with a representative of the United States Student Association we informed him of our solidarity with the youth of North America, especially in their just struggle against the draft, which represents imperialism's first steps in preparing for future military confrontations around the world.

This concerns not only U.S. youth but youth all over the world.

We feel that the role of youth is to build a happy future, a happy present, with peace and harmony among all of humanity.

Our principal task must be to fight for détente, for disarmament, for cooperation among peoples, and to avoid any support for the arms race or the belligerent attitudes of the present Carter administration or of the future Reagan administration.

We would like to appeal to North American youth not to register for the draft because one of its objectives is an invasion of Central America.

We feel that people's respect for the American people, as well as for American youth, will depend on the extent to which they take a much more consistent attitude and decide not to support the draft or an increase in the size of the United States Marines.

As the democratic ideals of the world's people and youth have increased, and as many countries have

freed themselves from the yoke of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist forces, U.S. imperialism has speeded up the arms race.

U.S. imperialism is creating weapons with massive destructive capability.

*Continued on page 23*

## YSA: 'No draft, no war, no U.S. intervention'

The following telegram was sent by the Young Socialist Alliance to the General Association of University Students of El Salvador and to the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

The Young Socialist Alliance of the United States expresses our profound outrage over the murder of the six leading comrades of the Democratic Revolutionary Front. We hold the military-Christian Democratic junta, and the U.S. government which supports it, directly responsible for this abominable crime.

It has just been publicly revealed that the U.S. is helping coordinate the activities of the right-wing terrorist gangs and is preparing for a possible military invasion in order to save the increasingly isolated junta.

The overwhelming antiwar sentiment among American youth, as well as the growing movement in solidarity with the Salvadoran people, indicate that any imperialist intervention would produce a Vietnam in Central America.

We pledge to mobilize our members and supporters to protest this latest crime against the fighting people of El Salvador. We will step up our campaign of solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution. We demand that the U.S. cut off all aid to the genocidal junta.

No draft!  
No war!  
No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!

Cuba yesterday, Nicaragua today, El Salvador tomorrow!

## 2,000 in Washington hear solidarity call

By Fred Feldman

WASHINGTON—The growing breadth of the international movement for solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and the struggle of the people of El Salvador was indicated at the conference on "Eurosocijalism and America" held here December 5-7. The conference attracted more than 2,000 people.

Sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism and strongly supported by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the meeting featured leaders of social-democratic parties from around the world.

The meeting heard speeches by such figures as Olof Palme, former prime minister of Sweden; Tony Benn, leader of the British Labor Party's left wing; François Mitterand, head of the French Socialist Party; former prime minister Joop den Uyl of the Netherlands; and former Chancellor of West Germany Willy Brandt, who now heads the social-democratic Socialist International.

The conference also included workshops examining political and economic problems in the United States.

In his keynote address Olof Palme sharply denounced the repression in El Salvador and called for solidarity with the freedom fighters.

Tony Benn told a December 7 news conference following adjournment of the conference that the British Labor Party, through its international committee, has voiced support for the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador.

"We are going to be watching the American government's attitude toward civil rights in Latin America very closely," he said. "The credibility of your government's support for civil and human rights will be judged by what it does in Latin America, and particularly in El Salvador, as well as by what it says about Poland."

Hundreds of signatures were obtained on petitions demanding that Washington stop all assistance to El Salvador's brutal junta.

The first meeting of the International Committee for the Defense of Nicaragua, projected by the Socialist International at its recent congress in Madrid, was held during the conference.

The committee is chaired by Felipe Gonzalez, head of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

According to a news release issued after the meeting, the committee "received an account of the present situation in Nicaragua by Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto."

The committee's stated aim is to work "for international solidarity and assistance for Nicaragua's development program" and "to avert foreign intervention in Nicaragua's internal affairs by outside powers."

At the December 7 news conference, Willy Brandt expressed concern that pro-Somoza forces might attempt a comeback if Nicaragua did not receive strong international support.

This aspect of the conference may help explain the nearly complete blackout of its proceedings in the U.S. media.

## Join the fightback: attend the YSA convention!



The fight against Reaganism and racist terrorism will be at the top of the agenda at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

To be held December 27-30 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

For more information on attending, check your local area in the directory on page 27, or write to:

YSA  
Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003



## Forced to declare aid halt

# Outcry at Salvador killings puts Carter on spot

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Intoxicated by the election of Ronald Reagan to the U.S. presidency, and completely misreading the real mood of the American working class, right-wing terrorists in El Salvador have put the U.S. government on the spot.

Less than a week after assassinating six top leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the ultra-right gorillas, who are closely linked to the official military apparatus, murdered four American women.

The victims—three Catholic nuns and a missionary—were on their way to attend the funeral of the slain FDR leaders.

The bodies of Ita Ford, Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kazel, and Jean Donovan were found buried in a common grave near the village of San Juan Nonualco, twenty-five miles east of San Salvador. All had been tortured and shot in the neck.

Ford and Clarke, nuns of the Maryknoll order who had been working for several months with refugees of the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango,

known persons." This is a common practice when the victims of right-wing death squads are discovered in the Salvadoran countryside.

In an official statement the Maryknoll order declared that the Salvadoran military "was instrumental in the disappearance and deaths of these four women."

### Aid suspended

In the face of mounting evidence of military complicity in the women's deaths, the U.S. State Department announced December 5 that all military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta was being suspended, "pending clarification of the circumstances of the killing."

Along with suspension of aid to the junta, the State Department also announced that a special investigative commission would be sent to El Salvador. This was to be headed by Under Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs William Bowdler, and William D. Rogers, who served as assistant secretary for Inter-American Affairs in the Ford administration.

The bipartisan makeup of the diplomatic mission and the involvement of Bowdler, the Carter administration's top trouble-shooter for Central America, indicated that considerably more might be involved than just establishing responsibility for the murder of four American women. Washington is deeply concerned about the stability of the Salvadoran junta itself.

### Junta disintegrating?

The junta's situation has become increasingly precarious in recent weeks. Military offensives in the countryside against the armed revolutionary forces—now united in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)—have failed to achieve their objectives.

Demoralization and desertions from the army have mounted.

The Christian Democratic members of the junta began calling for a "dialogue" with the Revolutionary Democratic Front in mid-November.

Meanwhile, extreme right-wing sectors of the officer corps—buoyed by Reagan's election—began pressing for the ouster of the Christian Democrats.

With the November 27 murders of the FDR leaders, the situation grew worse. Junta member Col. Adolfo Majano, a "liberal" officer who had been the special target of the extreme right-wing, abruptly left the country.

Soon thereafter, the Christian Democratic leader José Napoleón Duarte turned up in Washington for meetings with Carter and with aides of President-elect Reagan. According to U.S. government sources quoted in wire service dispatches here, Duarte's aim was to "warn at the highest level of the



Unearthed bodies of American women. Junta's troops rape, torture, and kill.

danger presented by the rapid deterioration of the Salvadoran situation." (*Barricada*, December 3)

### 'Political or military'?

Meanwhile, Salvadoran Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena, also a Christian Democrat, traveled to Panama. Majano was already there as a guest of General Omar Torrijos.

According to Panamanian government sources, Chavez Mena said the Christian Democrats had given the Salvadoran military forty-eight hours to decide whether they wanted a "political" or a "military" solution to the country's crisis.

Before returning to El Salvador December 6, Col. Majano acknowledged to newsmen that "the violence has placed the junta of government at its lowest level of credibility both domestically and internationally."

Majano called on the Salvadoran officer corps to "insist on a political outcome with the participation of all the living and democratic forces of the country."

Majano and the two Christian Democratic representatives Duarte and Morales Ehrlich make up a majority of the government junta. The fact that they had to run to Washington and Panama to seek support for their "political solution" rather than simply implement it shows once and for all that it is not the junta that rules El Salvador, but the military high command.

And it is also the military officers who control the death squads and

paramilitary gangs that murdered the leaders of the FDR and the four American women.

Washington could condone the FDR murders, but the political uproar in the United States and abroad would be far too damaging if it failed to at least appear to be taking some vigorous action against the killers of three U.S. nuns and a missionary.

### Policy dispute in Washington

Even before the murder of the four American women, there was great pressure on Washington to make at least some cosmetic changes in its approach to El Salvador. The Christian Democrats' call for a "dialogue" may have been worked out with U.S. officials with these pressures in mind.

Even before the murders of most members of the executive committee, the FDR had flatly rejected the call for "dialogue" by junta members.

In their November 27 statement on the FDR murders, the FMLN Directorate said that while "the armed forces and their paramilitary groups have stepped up their massacres," the junta was "trying to cover up these fascist outrages . . . by insistently proclaiming its support for 'peace' and 'dialogue'."

### FMLN reply

"Peace can only be achieved by overthrowing this genocidal regime," the FMLN declared.

"The only alternative for solving the national crisis is the installation of the revolutionary democratic government made up of and supported by the working class of the city and countryside, the middle layers, patriotic elements and groupings in the army, Catholic and Protestant religious figures committed to the people, and sectors of private enterprise that are willing to contribute to the reconstruction of the country and the reorganization of the society to make it justly and durably peaceful. . . ."

The FMLN indicated what kind of dialogue it was interested in: "we are open and fully prepared to hear the opinions of all persons, organizations, or institutions that seek to achieve this goal of freedom, peace, independence, and social justice, even if they are not affiliated to the FMLN or the FDR. We respect their ideas and opinions. The political conduct of the revolutionary democratic government will seek to represent the synthesis of the various ideas, opinions, and interests of the progressive forces of the nature and will respect them all."

From Intercontinental Press



Maura Clarke, one of the murdered nuns, had worked for many years in Nicaragua, first in the countryside, and then in a poor Managua suburb known as Open 3 (now Ciudad Sandino). In Open 3 she had led community struggles for electric and water service. After returning to the United States in 1976, Clarke was active in building solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. Three thousand persons attended a mass in Ciudad Sandino on December 6 to honor Maura Clarke's memory and protest the murder of her and her associates.

were returning from a conference in Nicaragua. They were met at Ilopango International Airport by Kazel and Donovan on the evening of December 2.

That night, the main highway from the airport to the capital was being heavily patrolled by National Guard units.

Members of the Canadian delegation to the FDR funeral reported that they last saw the American women when the latter's car was halted at a National Guard roadblock.

The roadblock site was not far from the area where the bodies and the burned-out remains of the vehicle were later discovered.

### Buried as 'unknown persons'

When the nuns' disappearance became known early on December 3, the U.S. embassy made inquiries to various branches of the Salvadoran military. All denied having any information as to the women's whereabouts.

It soon became known, however, that peasants had discovered the women's bodies along a roadside the night of December 2 and informed the National Guard.

With certification from a local official, the women were buried as "un-

## Junta more isolated, desperate

DEC. 10—Repercussions of the murders continue to shake up the rulers both in El Salvador and in the United States.

At press time there were reports that Col. Adolfo Majano had been expelled and Christian Democrat José Antonio Morales Ehrlich would be expelled from the ruling junta.

Remaining junta Christian Democratic member José Napoleón Duarte, is reported to have lost credibility and have little support left in El Salvador or internationally.

Open feuding has also broken out between president-elect Reagan's transition team and U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White. Reagan's people said White would be fired for pushing social reform programs too much. White shot back that his approach is the only thing

preventing civil war.

White also added to speculation about a further shift to the right or a right-wing coup being planned with the backing of Reagan supporters.

Extreme rightists in El Salvador are calling for an open campaign of extermination against all opposition. White revealed that Salvadoran officer Major Robert D'Aubuisson was back in the country. He is identified as the leader of the right-wing death squads.

The junta White has been backing and advising killed nearly 1,000 people a month in the past year.

American policy makers are not fighting over human rights. They see U.S. policy in El Salvador headed for a defeat and they cannot decide how to salvage anything from it.

# Israel: brutal attacks on student protests

By Nelson González

Despite an Israeli crackdown on the media, news of renewed protests by Palestinian students on the Israeli-occupied West Bank and of continued atrocities by the Israeli military has been transmitted worldwide.

The latest round of protests was triggered by an Israeli military board decision to uphold the deportation order of two prominent West Bank mayors.

They had been ordered deported last May for making speeches against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank. Their latest appeal was rejected December 5.

In solidarity with the mayors, students at Bethlehem University struck December 8 and barricaded themselves against Israeli troops for eight hours. Bir Zeit and Najah universities have also been shut down.

In a further incident related in the December 10 *New York Times*, sixty to seventy high school students in the West Bank town of Ramallah were arrested by Israeli troops after they attempted to organize similar protests against the deportations.

"Witnesses said about 20 of the teen-age students were beaten by soldiers in the yard of the Ramallah military compound in front of their parents," the *Times* reported.

In an apparent attempt to cover their bloody tracks, the Israeli military has imposed strict press censorship on the West Bank.

It seems the authorities did not appreciate having their claims of "self-defense" in firing on students last month exposed in front of the whole world.

Televised broadcasts showed Israeli soldiers perched on rooftops November 18 firing at unarmed students below. The sight of the Palestinian youth laying in pools of their own blood provoked worldwide outrage.

Since then the Israeli regime has resorted to arresting foreign journalists, confiscating equipment, and even shooting tear gas cannisters at reporters.

Criminal charges have been filed against Howard Arenstein of United Press International for being in a "military zone"—the campus of Bir Zeit University—during a demonstration.

Bob Simon of CBS reported Israeli troops firing gas cannisters at his news team. Two other CBS crews were arrested.

On December 8 UPI photographer Michael Theiler was detained and his film confiscated as he tried to cover a protest at Bethlehem University. Later an ABC television crew was detained.

"I have a feeling that somebody up there has decided to teach us a lesson," said Gideon Berli of the West German press agency. He is president of the Foreign Press Association, representing foreign correspondents based in Israel.

Berli said his and other news agencies plan to file formal protests with the government.

# Worldwide support grows for Irish political prisoners

By Gerry Foley

The hunger strike of seven political prisoners in Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp that began October 27 has touched off a massive solidarity movement throughout Ireland.

On November 28 three representatives of women prisoners at the Armagh jail announced that they would join the hunger strike on December 1.

The three, Mary Doyle, Mairead Farrell, and Mairead Nugent, declared, "We have reached this decision after several years of cruel and inhuman treatment. We are prepared to fast to the death if necessary."

In Dublin on November 22, more than 20,000 persons marched in support of the prisoners and in protest against the treatment that forced them to begin to starve themselves to death rather than endure it any longer.

On December 6 some 60,000 people marched on the British embassy in Dublin chanting "Brits out" and "Don't let the hunger strikers die."

These demonstrations are the largest protests against British repression in Northern Ireland held in Dublin since the mass upsurge that followed the slaughter of thirteen Irish civil-rights demonstrators by British paratroopers in Derry on January 30, 1972.

On November 16, ten thousand persons marched in support of the hunger strikers in Coalisland, a small town in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

The demands of the hunger



Militant/Jean Vertheim

New York rally November 22 in support of H-Block hunger strikers.

strikers are now supported by a number of major union organizations in Ireland.

Fighters for democratic rights in Eastern Europe have also spoken out in defense of the Irish prisoners.

The demands of the prisoners are supported by the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia and by Rudolf Bahro, the prominent East German dissident Marxist, as well as by the exiled Russian scholar Zhores Medvedev.

Bahro said: "The methods

used by the British government in Northern Ireland against its political opponents are qualitatively worse, as far as brutality and injustice are concerned, than those adopted by any other state in Europe against its own opposition."

It is vital that the pressure on the British be stepped up as rapidly as possible. The hunger strike has already gone on more than five weeks. The need for solidarity actions and protests could not be more urgent.

From Intercontinental Press

## S. African fighters sentenced to hang



Demonstrators outside the Palace of Justice in Pretoria, South Africa, protested death sentences meted out to three young members of the outlawed African National Congress on November 26. The three: Petrus Mashigo, twenty; Naph-tali Manana, twenty-four; and Johnson Lubisi, twenty-nine, were charged with treason. Six other defendants received sentences of from ten to twenty years imprisonment.

The freedom fighters had been arrested in connection with an attack on a rural police station, in which one police officer was slightly wounded.

As the savage sentences were announced, the prisoners and their supporters began singing an African National Congress song, "Mandela is Our Leader." Nelson Mandela has already served sixteen years of a life sentence on Robben Island off Cape Town.

The defendants also chanted "Amandla" (power), to which the crowd responded "Africa!" After the sentences were read, the nine defendants and their supporters broke into "God Bless Africa," a nationalist hymn.

## Korea: repression intensifies, Japanese unions plan boycott

By Diane Jacobs

"Hooligans, thieves, extortionists, swindlers, habitual gamblers, and others."

This was the way the South Korean authorities described the 1,210 people they arrested in Seoul on November 28.

At the same time, they closed sixty-seven publications for failing to meet vague government censorship standards.

These arrests and bannings were part of a further crackdown by the tyrannical South Korean regime. It vowed to continue "until all social evils were uprooted."

The roundup of anyone suspected of opposing the military government of President Chun Doo Hwan comes at the time when popular opposition leader Kim Dae Jung's final appeal is

up before South Korea's Supreme Court.

Kim was sentenced to death on a frame-up charge of sedition.

He was also accused of fomenting student demonstrations and the Kwangju insurrection last May in which 200,000 workers and students took control of the city for almost a week to demand an end to martial law and bloody repression.

Student protests continued this fall in spite of the arrests of more than 30,000 people over the summer.

Some opposition to Kim's frame-up has come from the governments of South Korea's primary trade partners, Japan and the United States. Both governments fear that Kim's

execution would "destabilize" and isolate the Chun regime.

But more important opposition has come in recent weeks from the 850,000-member All-Japan Council of Transport Workers Unions.

While the Japanese government dragged its feet and refrained from any sanctions against South Korea, the transport workers, including long-shoremen, planned a boycott beginning December 3 of goods shipped between Japan and South Korea.

The boycott threatens to halt trade expected to amount to \$6.2 billion in the first ten months of 1981.

The unions' decision came in response to a call by the 4.6 million-member General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

## Britain: 40,000 march for jobs

In one of the largest political demonstrations in Britain for years, more than 40,000 people marched through the streets of Liverpool November 29 protesting rising unemployment, according to the November 30 *New York Times*.

People came from all over the country to this Labor Party-sponsored action.

Special trains and buses came decorated with such slo-

gans as "Save Jobs—Sack the Tories!"

Unemployment in Britain is 8.4 percent.

Signs depicted the hatred felt toward the Conservative (Tory) Party government headed by Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher was depicted in hundreds of signs with sharp fangs or wielding a bloody sword against the poor.

The most popular cheer of

the day was "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, Out! Out! Out!"

Under a huge sign with a clock ticking off the number of Britain's unemployed, Labor Party leader Michael Foot told the crowd: "You are here stating for the nation that we are not going to tolerate what this government is doing to us."

The Labor Party plans to hold a series of such demonstrations this winter.



## Socialist lawsuit exposes conspiracy

# Shipyard workers beat Navy witch-hunt

By Vivian Sahner

Navy brass is probably wishing it had never tried to fire five pipefitters at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

On November 25 the five were told they were being terminated by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation because of their "engagement in political activities."

Within forty-eight hours they had won back their jobs.

But there's more.

Through the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment, the five have uncovered a months-long disruption effort by Coastal Dry Dock, Naval Intelligence and the FBI. The aim was to victimize them and to intimidate other workers and sailors who oppose the government's stepped-up military moves.

The plot included a mailing of provocative materials, distribution of a phony "labor" newspaper with viru-

finied, or jailed for expressing your views. A soldier or sailor might hear you.

### Defense effort

"We decided to form a defense committee right away," Robert Dees, one of those fired, told the *Militant*. "We wanted to tell the rest of the workers at Coastal and the sailors what was happening."

They printed copies of their termination notices with a protest statement on the back. By 7:30 the following morning, November 26, nearly 500 copies had been distributed to workers and sailors entering the yard.

"How can the U.S. Navy claim that the ships we work on are being readied to protect democratic rights abroad when the Navy itself suppresses democratic rights of workers on Navy ships?" the statement asked.

The second move by the five was to contact the lawyers for the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment.

The suit, which is expected to go to trial March 16, was filed to force the government to end its forty-year campaign of break-ins, phone taps, mail covers, and other illegal activities. The socialists are asking \$40 million in damages.

FBI documents exposed by the suit show that one of the government's favorite tricks was to contact employers of SWP and YSA members and try to get them fired.

The government says it stopped such activities in 1976.

### Investigate navy

The pipefitters and the SWP lawyers agreed that the navy should be interrogated on why the firings took place.

Dees explained to the *Militant*, "The events in El Salvador, Iran, and Poland have generated a lot of discussion in the yard about the role of the U.S. military. There is a wide range of opinions among Coastal workers and sailors. Many people are opposed to any draft or any new Vietnams."

"We think we have a right to talk about such life-and-death questions. But by getting me and the other four pipefitters fired, the navy was trying to tell all of us that this discussion was just not going to be allowed."

"We wanted the SWP lawyers to find out the exact reasons why we were being fired," Dees explained, "and to find out what involvement the navy had with other recent activities in the yard that were directed against the antiwar sentiment there."

The navy and Coastal did a complete aboutface in one day.

On November 26, Coastal sent a telegram to each of the pipefitters. It said, "Upon review by our counsel of the circumstances etc. relating to your discharge, you are advised that the notice of your discharge is rescinded and withdrawn. . . ."

"You will receive compensation for November 26th," it added.

The socialists decided that they had hit a sensitive nerve.

### Commander's testimony

Last week Shelley Davis, an attorney for the SWP, took sworn testimony from Commander J.R. Kott, the commanding officer of the *USS Alywin*.

She asked him why the five were fired.

"He informed me that there had been four charges against them," Davis told the *Militant*.

"First, he claims that the two women pipefitters were seen distributing a Progressive Labor Party pamphlet entitled *Soldiers and Sailors and the Fight for Socialism*," Davis said.

"Second, he says the navy found copies of this pamphlet on the *USS Alywin* and concluded the women put them there."

"This charge is not only false, it's

absurd," Davis said. "None of the five supports the Progressive Labor Party, or has any connection with them whatsoever."

"The PLP pamphlet in question is highly provocative," Davis pointed out. "It portrays the anti-Vietnam War movement as a series of attacks on campus recruitment centers, draft boards being burned down, and U.S. officers being shot by soldiers in Vietnam."

"Until this literature mysteriously appeared, the five pipefitters told me that they had never even seen PLP materials in the yard, nor are they aware of any PLP supporters in or around the yard," Davis said.

### Anonymous mailing

The third charge Kott made was that the five sent out an "anonymous" mailing of PLP literature to workers and sailors in the yard.

Davis told the *Militant* that the five pipefitters had heard second-hand about this mailing.

"This mailing was stuffed with back issues of the PLP magazine and other PLP literature. It was sent to many sailors including several known right-wingers," she said.

"Oddly enough, some of the mailing labels included the person's Social Security number," Davis added.

I phoned the New York headquarters of the Progressive Labor Party. A spokesperson told me, "It doesn't sound like anything we sent out. And we don't have people's Social Security numbers."

SWP attorney Davis said, "This whole episode has all the earmarks of a 'Cointelpro' operation. That was the name the FBI gave to its programs for disrupting the antiwar movement, Black liberation groups, socialists, and others in the 1960s and '70s."

"The use of phony letters, leaflets, and mailings to sow dissension, provoke confrontations, and get people fired was one of the most common Cointelpro schemes," she said.

Kott denied that the navy had anything to do with the mailing.

"The final reason Kott listed for

firing the five," Davis continued, "was his claim that three of the pipefitters were overheard by navy personnel soliciting membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

"I found it astounding to hear a navy officer even suggest that urging membership into a legal political party in this country is a crime," Davis remarked.

### Navy Blues

"When I asked Kott how he identified the five socialists," Davis said, "he admitted that both the Naval Intelligence Service and the FBI were involved."

"He gave me two Navy Blues—memos from him to his superiors in the Atlantic fleet—which refer to NIS and FBI participation."

"One of the things that turned up in these memos was that another navy officer asked about trying to indict the five workers—send them to jail for their political views! This was discussed with the FBI, which apparently told the navy they couldn't get away with that."

"I pointed out to Kott," Davis said, "that his accusations against what he terms 'self-professed members of the Socialist Workers Party' did not even include any SWP literature."

"So I gave him an antidraft statement by Andrew Pulley, the SWP 1980 presidential candidate."

"Kott read it carefully. Then he told me that it was subversive too—that he would have cited Section 2387 if the leaflet had been found on his ship."

### Witch-hunt

"Now the navy is trying to claim that the whole episode occurred only because literature was distributed in an improper manner. Just a question of following regulations."

"They say it's not an attack on the politics of the SWP or on the democratic rights of U.S. citizens to disagree with the government."

"But all of their memos, letters, and actions show that the five workers'

*Continued on next page*

### Brooklyn, New York

## HOW SOCIALISTS IN THE BROOKLYN NAVY YARD WON BACK THEIR JOBS

Speakers:

**Susan Wald**, Brooklyn Navy Yard pipefitter targeted by the Naval Intelligence Service and FBI for her political views

**Shelley Davis**, lawyer for Socialist Workers Party \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment

Friday, December 19, 8 p.m.  
Militant Bookstore  
335 Atlantic Ave.

Donation: \$2 Ausp: Militant Forum.  
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lent anticommunist smears, and other actions designed to provoke physical violence in the yard and get the socialists thrown out.

Here's how it happened.

### Fired

On November 25, Robert Dees, Bill Henry, Steve Smith, Marilyn Vogt, and Susan Wald were called into the company president's office at Coastal.

The five workers, some of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party, are all active union members in the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 12.

Each was handed a termination notice. They were being fired because Coastal had received a letter from the commanding officer of the *USS Alywin*, an anti-submarine warfare frigate being repaired in the yard.

"His letter speaks of the issue of your engagement in political activities which are in direct violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2387," the company notices said.

Then the five were marched out of the yard by uniformed security cops.

### Section 2387

What is Section 2387? It's part of the Smith Act, the same witch-hunt legislation that was used to jail eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Teamsters union in 1943 for their opposition to World War II. Much of the law has since been ruled unconstitutional.

Under Section 2387 anyone can be fined up to \$10,000, imprisoned up to ten years, and barred for five years from any government job for activity which "in any manner causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty" by military personnel.

As the navy reads it, if you're opposed to the draft or to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, you can be fired,



San Francisco, 1968: Soldiers & sailors join mass demonstration against Vietnam war. Washington doesn't want it to happen again—and is using same old dirty tricks to disrupt opponents of draft and war.

Militant/Dave Warren

# Pulley hails rights victory at Navy Yard

The following statement was released December 10 by Andrew Pulley, a political committee member of the Socialist Workers Party who was the SWP 1980 presidential candidate. Pulley is also a plaintiff in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment.

The attempt to victimize Socialist Workers Party members and other young workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard sums up exactly what our party's suit against the government is out to stop.

At stake is nothing less than the right of free speech and free political association in the face of a government drive to get us into wars that the working people of this country don't want.

The Navy tried to get five pipefitters—Robert Dees, Bill Henry, Steve Smith, Marilyn Vogt, and Susan Wald—fired for violating a witch-hunt law against inciting "mutiny." That's a ridiculous frame-up. Their rehiring the very next day shows how flimsy the charge was.

It's no mystery what really outraged the Navy. It wasn't "mutiny." It was the same problem the rulers of this country keep banging into.

Working people just don't want to go to war against our brothers and sisters in El Salvador or Iran or wherever else U.S. corporate profits might be threatened.

The workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard—including the young workers in uniform aboard the Navy ships there—are like millions of others in that respect.

So they talked about their views, and they were interested in what socialists had to say.

I know because I campaigned there. Dozens of workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard signed petitions to put me on the ballot. We had discussions about the draft, about the Iranian people's fight against the shah, about Cuba and the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America.

My discussions at the Brooklyn Navy Yard were among the best of my entire campaign.

Several dozen workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*.



Workers at Brooklyn Navy Yard talk with Andrew Pulley, left, during 1980 presidential campaign

Militant

Some workers from the yard came to socialist forums and campaign rallies. A few sailors came as well, which they have every legal and constitutional right to do.

But all this sent the Navy brass right through the bulkhead.

They're planning to send ships like the *USS Aylwin* to the Persian Gulf or to blockade Cuba or to back up an invasion of El Salvador. They don't want sailors knowing the truth about these places. And they sure don't want sailors and shipyard workers talking with socialists—they might agree!

So phony red-baiting newspapers started appearing. Provocative material was circulated to try to incite violence. The FBI and Naval Intelligence got their heads together to see if the socialists could be fired or even prosecuted.

These dirty tricks sound awfully

familiar. They were used against those opposed to the Vietnam war, against socialists, against Black militants, and against the labor movement.

The government claims it ended its disruption program against the Socialist Workers Party in 1976. It says all those illegal actions are a thing of the past.

Once again, the government is caught in lies, lies, lies.

The truth is that the FBI, Military Intelligence, the CIA, and other secret-police agencies are stepping up their skulduggery. Our rights get in their way more and more as Washington pushes toward military interventions in El Salvador and elsewhere. They are trying to silence dissent and intimidate opposition.

But the working people of America aren't just going to lie back and take this. That's what the draft-age youth have shown by protesting and by hundreds of thousands refusing to sign up.

It's what the youth of Miami and Chattanooga have shown by lighting up the skies instead of accepting racist injustice.

It's what workers are showing by trying to defend their living standards instead of sacrificing willingly for the "national good."

Our party's lawsuit is part of defending all these struggles against government disruption.

Winning back the jobs of the five pipefitters at the Brooklyn Navy Yard was a victory for the political rights of all working people. And we're not going to stop there.

We're going to use our lawsuit to press ahead and get out the whole truth about this disruption plot. We're going to sit more Navy officers down to be interrogated under oath.

These kinds of plots can't stand the light of day.

During the Vietnam war, many soldiers and sailors were harassed, framed-up, or given less than honorable discharges for their opposition to the war or for standing up for their rights.

I was one of eight GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, who got thrown into the stockade for speaking out against the war and for Black rights. We were charged with "incitement to riot."

A national campaign to defend us was organized by the SWP and other antiwar and civil liberties fighters. The government was forced to drop the charges.

That was 1969. In March 1981—just twelve weeks from now—the tables will be turned. That's when we're putting the government on trial. And if the events this fall at the Brooklyn Navy Yard are any evidence, they're guilty as hell.

## ... shipyard

Continued from preceding page

politics were exactly what they were out to stop.

"I asked Commander Kott," Davis said, "why Lt. Jr. Grade Downing told the sailors during muster one morning that communists in the yard were 'just waiting for the word from Moscow' to slow work down."

"He denied knowing anything about it."

"Downing's remarks are widely known. He made them in front of a large group of sailors," Davis pointed out. "We intend to question Lieutenant Downing and see what he says under oath."

### Phony newspaper

Robert Dees told me of two other recent incidents in the yard that also fit into the Cointelpro pattern.

"Recently huge stacks of the *Herald Recorder*, a paper none of us ever heard of, appeared in the yard with a vicious anticommunist editorial," Dees said. "The paper has nothing in it but ads, reprints of a few articles from a news service, and this big editorial. It's bizarre."

"The masthead says it's an AFL-CIO paper, but another pipefitter phoned the *Herald Recorder* to ask what unions it represented and they wouldn't tell him anything."

I called them and was told that the paper was published "in conjunction

with the *AFL-CIO News*."

But according to both the New York offices of the AFL-CIO and their national headquarters in Washington, D.C., the AFL-CIO has no connection with the *Herald Recorder*.

Judy Robbins of the International Labor Press Association, the news service of the AFL-CIO, told the *Militant*, "The *Herald Recorder* is a racket. There are a number of these phony labor publications around that solicit funds. Usually they only issue enough of each issue to use for getting ads from businesses the next month."

"We can't prove who brought the *Herald* into the yard," Dees said, "but I doubt that it's just a coincidence that it appeared right in the middle of the navy's attempt to oust us."

"They were searching high and low for an excuse to get us," Dees added. "One day navy Ensign Hebert thought he caught Smith, who is a first-class pipefitter, with illegal photos of the *USS Alywin*'s boiler. The captain and security cops came running on board."

"They were mighty disappointed when Coastal had to admit that they gave the photos to Smith for his work."

"Our winning back our jobs was a great victory for free speech," Dees concluded.

"The horror of the Vietnam War remains with the working people in this country. Trying to discredit workers and sailors who don't want another Vietnam by labeling us 'communist' or 'subversive' won't make those sentiments go away."

## Socialist workers 5, navy 0

"The support we got from the other workers and sailors in the Brooklyn Navy Yard made a tremendous difference in the fight to win back our jobs," Robert Dees told the *Militant*.

"We distributed a leaflet at the yard entrance the day after we were fired explaining what had happened. The word spread quickly," Dees said.

"That afternoon when we were standing on line to cash our checks, workers came up to shake our hands—in spite of the obviously intimidating intent of the company's move."

"Whether or not they shared our views," Dees added, "most felt the company had no right to fire us."

Dees said one young sailor from the South told him, "I don't know anything about socialism, but you have the right to think what you

want. And I told the Navy even if I did know anything I wouldn't tell them."

"A shipyard worker commented, 'You guys [the Socialist Workers Party] were on the ballot right? They're saying I can vote for you, but I can't talk to you? Give me a break!'"

One worker from Guyana told Dees, "We get fired for talking about our ideas but the Klan gets away with murder."

A machinist from South America added, "And they talk about human rights in this country."

"After we returned to work," Dees said, "people we never knew before came up to meet us."

"One worker told me, 'You guys getting hired back is the best thing that happened in this yard since I've worked here.'"

—V.S.



1,2: Sample of letter firing pipefitters for 'engagement in political activities' and telegram next day rehiring them. Back pay is promised.

### COASTAL DRY DOCK & REPAIR CORP.

BUILDING 131  
BROOKLYN NAVY YARD  
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11205

November 25, 1980.

TO: Susan Wald (Badge #961)

This letter shall serve as formal notice of your immediate termination of employment from Coastal Dry Dock & Repair Corp.

This action is being taken based upon letter dated 25 November from the Commanding Officer, USS AYLWIN (FF-1081). His letter speaks of the issue of your engagement in political activities which are in direct violation of Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 2387.

Very truly yours,  
COASTAL DRY DOCK & REPAIR CORP.  
*Vincent J. Montanti*  
Vincent J. Montanti,  
Vice President.

cr

## Telegram



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S SUSAN WALT RPT DLY MGM, DLR ADAP 10NIGHT, DLR  
239 WEST 15 ST  
NEW YORK NY 10011  
UPON REVIEW BY OUR COUNSEL OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES ETC RELATING TO YOUR  
DISCHARGE, YOU ARE ADVISED THAT THE NOTICE OF YOUR DISCHARGE IS  
RESCUED AND WITHDRAWN AND YOU ARE RETURNED TO YOUR JOB EFFECTIVE  
1300H NOVEMBER 26TH 1980. YOU ARE TO REPORT FOR WORK ON YOUR NEXT  
REGULAR WORKING DAY. YOU WILL RECEIVE COMPENSATION FOR NOVEMBER 26TH

8F1201 (RS-48)

1980 AND HOLIDAY PAY.

COASTAL DRY DOCK AND REPAIR CORPORATION VINCENT J. MONTANTI  
BLDG 131 BROOKLYN NAVY YARD  
BROOKLYN NY 11205  
NNNN

2

3: Letter from Commander J.R. Kott to Coastal Dry Dock urging that socialists 'be removed permanently' from USS Aylwin. Kott charges that 'self-professed members of the Socialist Workers Party' distributed literature and 'solicited membership in their organization.' He sees possible treason, mutiny, and access to 'latest anti-submarine warfare and electronic warfare equipments.'



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
USS AYLWIN (FF-1081)  
BROOKLYN NAVY YARD

FF1081:JRK:cah  
5510  
Ser: #74  
24 November 1980

From: Commanding Officer, USS AYLWIN (FF-1081)  
To: President, Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation, Building 131,  
Brooklyn Navy Yard, Brooklyn, New York 11205

Subj: Suspected illegal activities of self-professed members of the  
Socialist Workers Party in USS AYLWIN (FF-1081)

Ref: (a) Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2387

Encl: (1) "Soldiers and Sailors and the Fight for Socialism"

- On or about 7 October 1980, several self-professed members of the Socialist Workers Party, employed by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation, were observed by AYLWIN crewmembers to be distributing copies of enclosure (1) in a main engineering space. Additionally, they were actively soliciting membership in their organization. The thrust of the ideas professed in enclosure (1) are clearly contrary to good order and discipline in the military and could be described as potentially treasonous or mutinous if expressed by crewmembers themselves. Further, due to the nature of AYLWIN's current overhaul, these yard workers who are Socialist Party members have potential access to the Navy's latest anti-submarine warfare and electronic warfare equipments, as well as other classified material and equipment.
- The actions of these "socialist" workers in distributing their literature and soliciting membership in their organization while working aboard AYLWIN appear to be a violation of reference (a).
- All possible assistance in resolving this potentially serious security problem within Coastal Dry Dock activities in general and aboard AYLWIN in particular is requested.
- It is the policy of this command that political activity and solicitation is prohibited in AYLWIN and will be enforced. Your assistance in assuring the compliance of Coastal Dry Dock employees is requested.
- In addition, it is requested that the below listed Coastal Dry Dock employees who were involved in previous possible violations of reference (a) be removed permanently from the work force assigned to AYLWIN:

5. (CONT'D)

MARILYN VOGT	(Badge #957)
SUSAN WALT	(Badge #961)
STEVE SMITH	(Badge #950)
BILL HENRY	(Badge #934)
ROBERT DEES	(Badge #949)

Copy to:  
SUPSHIP BROOKLYN  
COMNAVSTA FLANT  
COMNAVSTA TWO  
COMDESON FOUR  
CO NAVSTA BROOKLYN  
NISO NAVSTA BROOKLYN

*J. R. KOTT*  
J. R. KOTT

FF1081:JRK:cah  
5510

4,5: Memos from Commander Kott to superiors in Atlantic Fleet. 4 notes protest against firings. It also reveals earlier involvement by Naval Intelligence Service (NIS). 5 notes rehiring. It also says 'local FBI office will not seek prosecution' of socialists—a possibility the Navy had apparently checked on.

NAVY BLUE DATED 26 Nov 80

Narrative: On the morning of 26 Nov 80, former Coastal Dry Dock (CDD) employees were observed distributing literature entitled "STOP THE FIRINGS" to personnel entering the CDD compound. This literature discussed the firing of five CDD employees on 25 Nov, as the result of a letter from Aylwin to CDD requesting that these five individuals be removed from Aylwin's work force. This request for removal was due to political activity by five persons on board Aylwin. On 7 Oct 80, these CDD employees were observed distributing literature which advocated the overthrow of the "Bosses" (all E-6 and below), as well as actively soliciting members of the crew to join their organization, The Socialist Workers Party. When this matter was brought to the attention of CDD management, the activists stopped any face to face contact and resorted to surreptitiously dropping the literature about the ship. NIS was requested to investigate and did conduct a preliminary investigation but carried it no further due to jurisdictional problems. Approx 10 Nov, crewmembers began receiving unsolicited mailings from the Progressive Labor Party. These mailings and the reactions of crewmembers to them, were the cause for Aylwin's letter to CDD requesting the removal of the five persons from Aylwin's work force.

4

NAVY BLUE DATED 01 Dec 80

Narrative: Liaison with Supships Brooklyn NY indicates that the five shipyard workers rptd fired in ref a have been rehired by CDD. The rehiring was based on a recommendation of CDD legal department that failure to rehire would place CDD in jeopardy of losing a class action suit. Between 0800 and 0900 local three of the five individuals attempted to board Aylwin. After discussion btw CO Aylwin and CO Supship these three individuals were denied access to work onboard Aylwin and their supervisor at CDD so advised. Per agreement btw Supship and CDD, these individuals will be reassigned to non-combatant units. Liaison btw Aylwin and Supship also indicates local FBI office will not seek prosecution of individuals. Related matter, subpoena rptd ref b is under review/discussion btw Mr. Edward Williams (US Attorneys Office) and Captain Harlow (Navy Jag). This sitrep has been coordinated with Supship Brooklyn.

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## ANTI-COMMUNIST EDITORIAL

- SEE PAGE 4

# The Herald Recorder

Sponsored and Endorsed by Trade Union AFL-CIO

VOL. 1, NO. 1

FALL 1980

From the pen of

the publisher...

"COMMUNISM DESTROYS DEMOCRACY —  
DEMOCRACY CAN ALSO DESTROY COMMUNISM"

Communism possesses a language which every people can easily understand—its elements are hunger, fear, envy and death.

Albert Einstein, one of the great thinkers and doers of our time stated it very simply—"Any power must be an enemy of mankind which enslaves the individual by terror or force, whether it arises under a fascist or communist flag. All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for development accorded the individual."

Communists are the avowed enemies of Democracy. Nikita Khrushchev was not kidding when to our very faces and over our National Television he said "We will bury you."

... BUT FIRST THEY MUST BURY THE UNIONS

It is estimated that 1 of 4 American working people are union affiliated. Add to this number their dependent families. What a wonderful "score" for the Khrushchevs of this world to infiltrate and eventually take over. If they do it THEY HAVE THE WORLD! But whatever you cannot understand, you cannot possess. Communists do not understand that

TRADE UNIONS ARE THE BULWARK OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

Trade unions have done more for humanity than any other organization of men that ever existed. They have done more for decency, for honesty, for education, for the betterment of all races, for the developing of character in man, than any other association of men. Misguided Communist fools in the past and most certainly in the future will try to infiltrate and take over the reins of our unions, or at the very least will try to propagandize. They are doomed to failure. We will never allow it.

But if it should happen, the first signs of their success will be the DEFECTION OF OUR WRITERS, OUR SCIENTISTS, OUR ARTISTS, OUR PHILOSOPHERS, ETC. TO THE USSR. Please let me know when this starts to happen.

— Daniel Shapiro

6

# Another killer-cop acquitted in Florida

By Bob Schwarz

MIAMI—On November 21, three days after the Klan-Nazi killers went free in Greensboro, an all-white jury acquitted Deerfield Beach cop Douglas Williams in the shooting of twenty-year-old Willie James MacDonald.

MacDonald had been shooting dice with several friends April 3 in a park on the west side of this southern Florida town 30 miles north of Miami.

According to court testimony, when Williams and another cop broke up the game, MacDonald ran away.

Williams chased him, knocked him down, and, according to several witnesses, shot him in the head from a distance of six to seven inches while MacDonald pleaded "Don't shoot!"

These facts were not in dispute during the trial, though news accounts tried to create an atmosphere of confusion, reporting discrepancies in testimony on the color of MacDonald's clothes, etc.

While Williams claimed he thought MacDonald might be armed, the defense could produce no evidence the youth had

attacked the cop.

Williams also claimed his gun went off accidentally, but a police firearms expert called by the prosecution called that "highly unlikely" since the trigger takes 14 pounds of pressure.

Media sympathy with the cop was exemplified by "background" stories published side by side in the *Miami Herald* several weeks after the murder. These described MacDonald as a social drop-out with no job, no education and no future, while Williams was pictured as a bright young dedicated cop who had devoted many hours to community service.

The *Fort Lauderdale News* quoted his defense attorney as calling him "a frightened, battered young police officer who was only doing his job."

According to the same article "In this trial where a police officer is the defendant, [prosecutor] Ray admitted he felt compassion for the boyish-looking officer and his family."

Joseph Sindaco, attorney for MacDonald's family, said they would file a civil rights suit in federal court as soon as possible.

# Harvard U. Blacks fight racist attacks

By Mike Raskin

BOSTON—Chanting, "Beat back racist attacks," more than 300 Harvard University students marched from the campus to the site of the Harvard-Yale football game November 22 to protest a series of threats against Black students.

On November 6 Lydia Jackson, Harvard-Radcliffe Black Student Association president, discovered the BSA office had been burglarized.

"Ten days to kill" and "KKK unite" were written on a desk calendar.

Similar racist graffiti were found scrawled in the bathroom near the BSA office two days later.

Jackson also began receiving obscene and threatening phone calls.

The incidents began shortly after the leak of an unpublished study commissioned by

Harvard President Derek Bok, claiming that women and Black students perform "slightly worse" than their admission test scores indicate.

Jackson told the *Militant*, "Over the past five years, minority students have been expressing their concerns and needs. Our academic respectability has been threatened, and now our very presence at the university is at stake."

Black students have gained the support of others, including the dining hall workers' union.

Through their protests, Black students are demanding renunciation by Bok of the admissions study, a stronger affirmative-action program to recruit Black faculty and students, student participation in admissions decisions, and a campus-financed minority student center.

# Nine-year frame-up of Panther continues

The frame-up of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, former head of the southern California Black Panthers, was carried one step further December 3.

Pratt, a decorated Vietnam war veteran, has spent the last nine years in jail—four of them in solitary confinement. He was convicted in 1972 for a 1968 robbery and murder.

On December 3 the California Court of Appeals turned down Pratt's request for a new trial despite evidence that the key witness in the 1972 trial is now known to be an FBI in-

former and at least three agents infiltrated Pratt's own defense team.

One former FBI informer, Darthead Perry, recently appeared on WABC-TV's *Like It Is* program. He explained that the FBI had Pratt under surveillance at the time of the murder and knew that Pratt was in another town.

"He was railroaded from the get-go," Perry said.

Stuart Hanlon, an attorney for Pratt, told the *Militant* that they intended to appeal the decision to the California Supreme Court.

# Ben Chavis speaks at rally celebrating Wilmington victory

By Dennis Carman

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Rev. Ben Chavis addressed a rally of 300 held here December 7 to honor those who struggled in Louisville in the 1970s and to prepare for the '80s.

The meeting was sponsored by the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

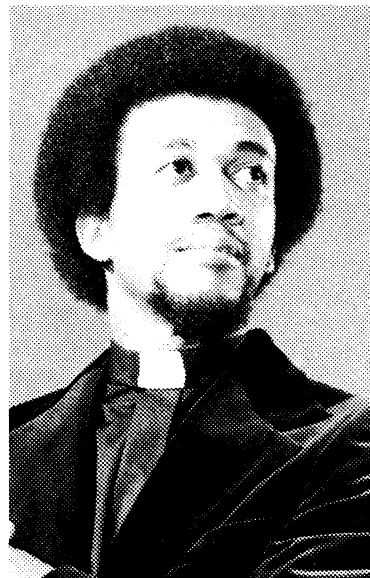
Chavis began by dedicating the rally to the four American women—three nuns and a missionary—murdered by agents of the Salvadoran junta.

The struggle in El Salvador is important to Black activists in Louisville, Chavis said. "Police in Louisville and the military and paramilitary rightists in El Salvador all use the same ammunition, all made in the USA."

"U.S. rulers are on the wrong side again, always siding with dictators."

The rally took on the atmosphere of a victory celebration, as three days earlier a U.S. court of appeals threw out the 1972 arson and conspiracy conviction of Chavis and his co-defendants in the Wilmington 10 case.

But Chavis was quick to point out, "The oppressor never relaxes. We have won a victory



BEN CHAVIS

but we must go on to organize the new victories."

He hailed the recent formation of an independent Black political party:

"The Republican and Democratic parties are not capable of meeting the desires and issues of Blacks," Chavis said.

"The independent Black political party will allow the majority of Blacks to participate directly in the political process in their own interests."

Prior to the rally, Chavis received two threatening phone

calls from the Ku Klux Klan.

After making their cowardly threats, they hung up.

So Chavis used the rally to send the Klan a reply.

"My protection comes from the people organized. We have lived through the Klan in North Carolina and in Louisville."

"Ain't no phone calls from the Klan going to hold our movement back."

Antiracists and anti-Klan activists will have an opportunity to send the Klan another message very soon.

On January 15, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) will sponsor a march and rally here to celebrate Martin Luther King's birthday. The SCLC is joining other Blacks who are demanding that the date be proclaimed a national holiday in honor of the slain Black leader.

The march will begin at noon at Super-X Drugs at 3127 West Broadway. The drugstore is the site of the racist murder of Emanuel Ballard.

Ballard was shot to death by an off-duty cop/security guard who accused him of stealing a bottle of aspirin.

A rally will follow at the Southern Star Baptist Church.

# N.Y. mayor closes hospital, Black leaders vow to reopen it

By Nelson González

Harlem's Sydenham hospital was closed November 21 by order of New York's Mayor Edward Koch.

However, the Black community and its leadership are continuing to organize to reopen Sydenham.

Last summer and fall thousands of people protested the proposed closing. Referring to the angry demonstrations, Koch said, "Out of all this turmoil what I believe will happen is a better health care system for poor people."

Cenie Williams, president of the Association of Black Social Workers, called Koch's statement a "bald face lie."

He pointed out that North General and Logan Hospitals, which city officials claim will absorb Sydenham's patients, were understaffed and incapable of taking on the increased load.

Williams said that he and

other Black community leaders are working on a plan to reopen Sydenham as a private voluntary hospital. These attempts are facing bureaucratic sabotage by city and state officials.

Reverend Herbert Daughtry, president of the Black United Front, told the *Militant* that the closing of Sydenham "is part of the general attack on Blacks and other minorities around the country."

Daughtry suggested organizing a health care conference to educate the Black community and to propose actions to improve the situation.

James Butler, president of Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said that 200 of the 500 people who worked at Sydenham were members of his local.

"Most of them have been placed in temporary jobs around the city," he told the

*Militant*. "They face permanent job loss once the money on their job line runs out. When that happens all hell will break loose."

Meanwhile, AFSCME District Council 37's *Public Employee Press* revealed that the city has given more than \$200 million in tax breaks to subsidize construction by giant corporations.

The tax waivers are illegal unless the company proves it would otherwise be unable to proceed with construction.

Yet AT&T—the richest corporation in the world, with over \$5.6 billion in profits last year—was given a \$20 million handout to build its mid-Manhattan headquarters.

City officials admit AT&T would not have canceled construction if it did not get the tax break.

Koch said the city could not afford \$8.9 million to keep Sydenham open.

# Protest condemns murder of Black worker by prison guards

By Cecelia Moriarity

SEATTLE—Shelly Johnson, a Black construction worker, was killed November 18 in the King County Jail here.

Two eyewitnesses at the jail told Michael Withey, an attorney for the National Lawyers Guild, that Johnson had been beaten twice before and that he had told a number of people he thought the guards were going to kill him.

Nine prison guards ganged up on Johnson in the beating that took his life, the eyewitnesses told Withey.

The official report in the press three days after the murder said that Johnson had attacked a Black guard. Therefore, it claimed, his being choked in the ensuing struggle could not be called a racial death.

The guards claim that a few minutes after they subdued Johnson, they returned to the cell and "found" him dead.

The press, which has not carried the eyewitness accounts, has reported on the prison authorities' claims that

the death can be attributed to overcrowded jails and to personnel not trained to handle "a dangerous man with mental problems" like Johnson.

An emergency picket of 150 people was held at the jail November 21 to express outrage at the brutality of the prison guards and the attempted cover-up by the local papers.

On November 25 a community workshop was held to discuss organizing to stop the increased violence against Blacks in Seattle.



# Atlanta officials attack striking bus drivers

By Dick McBride

ATLANTA—Black bus drivers responsible for driving 25,000 Atlanta students to and from school are on strike.

The strikers' main demand is for a \$5.00 across-the-board raise. Many of the drivers now make as little as \$3.50 an hour.

They are also demanding better maintenance of the buses, bus monitors to help ensure the safety of the children, medical insurance, and paid holidays.

About 300 bus drivers are employed by the National Transportation Service (NTS), which is contracted by the Atlanta school board to transport public school students.

While a number of the drivers are organized by Teamsters Local 258, the majority are not.

The non-union drivers initiated the strike. Although they sought the union's help, Teamster officials refused to support them.

Meanwhile, the city government is trying to use the unsolved murders of Black school-age children to force the drivers back to work.

City officials charge that the drivers picked the wrong time to go on strike. The campaign has been taken up by the local media.

A recent column by *Atlanta Journal* writer Jeff Denberg called the strikers

"stupid" and "irresponsible jerks."

Denberg labeled strike leader Roderick Robinson a "louse" who "deserve[s] to be fired" and "tied to a stake and flogged through every neighborhood in the city."

In response to this racist and slanderous campaign, Robinson told

the *Militant*, "They said we timed the strike wrong. I don't think so."

"I think we timed it perfectly because it ties in with everything that is happening in this city, especially with the child murders," he said.

"The operation of even one unsafe bus carrying as many as ninety child-

ren could triple or quadruple the number of children already dead.

"If the NTS was allowed to continue operating buses under those conditions we would've been murderers for knowing of the conditions and not bringing them to the attention of the public."

*Continued on next page*

## SWP backs strike & action on child murders

The following statement was released November 23 by the Atlanta Socialist Workers Party.

The striking bus drivers deserve the support of all Atlanta workers. They are simply demanding a decent standard of living and safe transportation for students.

City officials charge that the drivers are jeopardizing the safety of children in this city.

This is a frame-up!

It is designed to whip up public sentiment against the strike and to cover up the fact that city officials have made no headway in finding the racist criminals responsible for the child murders.

These bus drivers, the overwhelming majority of them Black, are victims of the racist, antiworker

policies of the bosses and their Democratic and Republican party spokespeople.

In this the drivers share common interests with the families of the murdered Black children and other workers.

Many of the bus drivers are parents of school children themselves. The demands they are raising will help to further the safety of children, not jeopardize it.

The responsibility for acting to stop the racist child murders lies with a city administration that has taken no decisive action to find the killers and protect Black youth.

We demand that the school board and the National Transportation Service meet the demands of the striking bus drivers.

We also demand that city officials take the following emergency steps to find the killers of Black children and to prevent other murders:

1. Provide free emergency twenty-four-hour centers in the Black community where children can stay while parents are working.

2. Provide buses—driven by decently-paid, union-protected drivers—to and from school for all children.

3. Provide funds for community-controlled twenty-four-hour street patrols.

4. Investigate the Klan, Nazis, and other racist groups.

5. Provide daily public reports on the police investigations at open meetings where the public can ask questions.

# Militant sales build El Salvador solidarity

By Nancy Rosenstock

Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are helping to build solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. Last week's *Militant*—headlined "El Salvador: next Vietnam?" and containing the State Department "dissent paper" on secret U.S. war plans—is a powerful weapon to get out the truth.

At a Twin Cities El Salvador solidarity rally of 300 on December 5, fifty-four copies of the *Militant* and eleven *PMs* were sold.

In Baltimore the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* was shown December 5 to an audience of about 125. During the discussion period, one par-

on Saturday, November 29, with the *Militant* headlined "1,500 Blacks launch independent party." Another eighty-five were sold.

At the recent National Black Political Convention in Philadelphia November 21-23, an attractive table was set up by socialists featuring the *Militant* as well as literature from Pathfinder Press.

More than 150 people bought a copy of the *Militant* and 32 took out an introductory subscription to the *Militant*. Thirty-three copies of the *Young Socialist* were also sold, as well as \$165 worth of literature.

\* \* \*

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in more than forty-three cities participated in the drive to win 8,000 new readers. In addition, seventeen traveling teams of two to four socialists each fanned out across the country.

Thirty-six branches of the Socialist Workers Party made or surpassed their goals. Fifteen of these branches had raised their goal during the course of the ten-week drive.

The seventeen teams reached new areas with socialist ideas and the socialist election campaign. Teams traveled to the coal mining areas of West Virginia and southern Illinois; to the copper mining communities in Arizona; to Buffalo and Chattanooga, scenes of recent violence against Blacks, as well as many other places.

Though the teams fell short of the projected total goal of 1,000 new readers, team members report that the *Militant* and *PM* were warmly received by working people and students in the areas visited.

Many areas have already begun to plan follow-up work. Detroit socialists are inviting *Militant* and *PM* subscribers to an open house at the socialist headquarters. The event will feature a booksale as well as informal discussion.

The Pittsburgh branch plans to continue selling subscriptions by fielding teams on Saturdays to neighboring steel and coal communities, as well as to mine portals in the area.

## Final scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
*Piedmont	125	172	0	1	125	173	138
Twin Cities	190	259	10	11	200	270	135
*Dallas	115	146	35	44	150	190	127
*Milwaukee	175	215	25	24	200	239	120
*Detroit	205	247	15	13	220	260	118
San Antonio	60	82	30	23	90	105	117
Albuquerque	60	75	20	18	80	93	116
San Diego	70	89	30	27	100	116	116
*Tidewater	150	171	0	3	150	174	116
*Louisville	105	107	0	14	105	121	115
*Gary	100	122	15	9	115	131	114
Miami	75	94	15	9	90	103	114
*Baltimore	135	149	5	9	140	158	113
*Phoenix	80	91	20	21	100	112	112
*Atlanta	140	163	10	3	150	166	111
*Birmingham	50	55	0	0	50	55	110
Manhattan	300	349	200	202	500	551	110
New Orleans	90	106	10	4	100	110	110
Oakland	125	149	25	16	150	165	110
Denver	85	104	15	5	100	109	109
*Salt Lake City	135	152	15	12	150	164	109
*Indianapolis	140	133	10	27	150	160	107
*Kansas City	115	127	10	7	125	134	107
Philadelphia	115	128	35	32	150	160	107
Pittsburgh	165	178	10	9	175	187	107
Newark	240	284	60	32	300	316	105
*Washington D.C.	110	136	45	25	155	161	104
Cleveland	100	117	30	16	130	133	102
Toledo	60	61	0	0	60	61	102
Boston	180	186	20	15	200	201	101
Morgantown	100	101	0	0	100	101	101
Seattle	210	220	15	7	225	227	101
*Capital District	90	91	10	9	100	100	100
Cincinnati	120	116	0	4	120	120	100
Iron Range	90	85	0	5	90	90	100
Los Angeles	200	285	150	66	350	351	100
St. Louis	120	106	0	11	120	117	98
Brooklyn	300	292	100	51	400	343	86
Portland	95	78	0	2	95	80	84
Chicago	300	229	50	41	350	270	77
San Jose	50	29	35	18	85	47	55
Houston	105	52	35	12	140	64	46
San Francisco	100	29	100	5	200	34	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5675</b>	<b>6160</b>	<b>1210</b>	<b>862</b>	<b>6885</b>	<b>7022</b>	<b>102</b>
Miscellaneous		95		19	115	114	99
National Teams		480		13	1000	493	49
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>5675</b>	<b>6740</b>	<b>1210</b>	<b>894</b>	<b>8000</b>	<b>7634</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>5675</b>		<b>1210</b>		<b>8000</b>	<b>100</b>

\* indicates area that has raised goal

## Target is Black rights

# What's behind the new attacks on busing

By Nan Bailey

Sen. Strom Thurmond and other Democratic and Republican segregationists are out to destroy busing.

They've already announced their intentions to make voting rights, fair housing, and affirmative action their next targets. These goals help to clarify what's behind the fight over busing and school desegregation.

The real issue has nothing to do with bus transportation.

Students have been bused substantial distances for years. No outcry was heard from today's champions of "neighborhood schools" when Black students were bused past closer white schools to segregated, inferior all-Black schools.

Forty percent of American school students are taken to school on buses. Only 3 percent are bused for desegregation. But it is this tiny portion of the busing taking place that is opposed as "forced busing."

The real issue at stake is the right of Black children, who have been segregated in the worst schools for so many years, to attend the school of their choice in search of an equal education.

That right is the target of the amendment to the appropriations bill recently approved by Congress. The amendment would forbid the Justice Department from bringing any desegregation suits involving busing.

Neither James Carter nor Ronald Reagan support busing for school desegregation. Reagan has bluntly repeated his opposition to busing.

### Carter's veto

Carter says he may veto the bill with the antibusing amendment. He would

do so not to defend school desegregation, however.

Carter explained this in a December 4 letter to Congress:

"I have often stated my belief that busing should only be used as a last resort in school desegregation cases. But busing is not the real issue here.

"The real issue is whether it is proper for the Congress to prevent the President from carrying out his constitutional responsibility to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Whether or not Carter vetoes the bill, this attack should be viewed by supporters of Black rights as a grave threat, and one that demands a response.

It is one of a series of renewed attacks on school desegregation:

Both the Democratic and Republican party platforms this year took stands against busing.

In Los Angeles, Boston, and other cities Democratic and Republican politicians are trying to block school desegregation and sabotage busing plans.

Inadequate busing plans are being put forward in some cities as foot-dragging officials try to get around the law.

### Education & liberation

The 1954 Supreme Court decision that ruled school segregation illegal was not a gift from the government. It was a right that was fought for through mass mobilizations of the civil rights movement.

The attacks on busing and the campaign under way to dismantle the Black colleges go hand in hand. They're both part of a campaign of

national attacks on Black education.

Both busing and the Black colleges are important tools to give Blacks the right to the best education available today.

Education has always been a key issue in the fight for Black liberation. It's as fundamental as the right to a decent standard of living.

The unequal education imposed on Black students today has meant for many finishing public schools without a functional knowledge of how to read and write. This is the result of segregated education.

To read and write are important steps to effectively demanding your rights and defending yourself. The right to learn—even in an educational system most workers agree is inadequate—is an important right to defend.

### Accomplishments of busing

Experience has shown that busing has accomplished some of the goals that Black parents who began the fight for it had in mind.

David Tatel, who was director of the Office of Civil Rights of the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare, explains in the December 4 *New York Times* that the facts show Black students attending desegregated schools are more likely to go to college. They're also more likely to get jobs.

A recent study by Diana Pearce of the Catholic University's Center for National Policy Review, concludes that busing for school desegregation has even led to a breakdown in housing segregation.

Where busing has been implemented, the purpose has not been to achieve an abstract "racial balance."

Busing has been ordered by courts

only where public officials have been proven—often over decades—to have intentionally segregated schools in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This has been the basis of court rulings sought by Black parents and civil rights organizations around the country.

The attacks on busing and other Black rights are part of a general assault being carried out against the working class as a whole by the American ruling class and its politicians.

Black and white workers have a common stake in answering the segregationists and challenging their antibusing moves. Every gain made by the opponents of busing only helps to embolden other right-wing elements.

Education on the truth about busing and its goals is one important way to answer the antibusing politicians.

Millions of Americans have been miseducated and confused by the antibusing propaganda. The inadequate busing plans consciously implemented by Democratic and Republican politicians have added to this confusion.

The way forward to an equal education for Blacks and all the oppressed includes defending against racist attack every step forward in extending busing for school desegregation.

The January 15 protests in Washington, D.C., and other cities to demand a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King offer a good opportunity to respond to the racists.

Defense of school desegregation and protests against racist terror campaigns can be two of the prominent issues raised at these actions. These certainly summarize two of the goals that Dr. King stood for.

NONSENSE...WE REPUBLICANS  
AREN'T AGAINST BLACKS..  
WE'RE JUST AGAINST  
BUSING.



SEE..WE DONT  
WANT BUSES  
COMING TO  
OUR SCHOOLS...



OR BUSES  
MOVING IN  
NEXT DOOR..



OR BUSES DATING  
OUR SISTERS...



OR MY DAUGHTER  
MARRYING A BUS..



COURSE.. SOME OF  
MY BEST FRIENDS  
ARE BUSES &



Mike Peters, Dayton Daily News

## Black students fight to save Cheyney State College

By Newton Brown

PHILADELPHIA—Cheyney State College is the oldest public Black college in the United States. The Pennsylvania school opened almost 150 years ago.

Cheyney's existence is being threatened by state and federal officials. As a result, it has become one of the focal points of the national "save Black schools" campaign.

A Pennsylvania "desegregation" plan implemented in 1977 stated that Cheyney (currently 85 percent Black) would have to increase its white enrollment to 30 percent by 1980 or face the consequences.

These consequences include a cutoff of federal funds and merger with a neighboring university. Many believe that university would be predominantly white West Chester.

Students and faculty at Cheyney have mobilized to save their school. Their campaign has included marches, such as the November 17 rally of 2,000 at the state capital in Harrisburg.

They also joined the national action of 10,000 to "save the Black schools" that took place this fall in Washington, D.C.

Two lawsuits were filed by Cheyney students, faculty, and alumni in September. They charge the federal and state governments with failure to enforce federal desegregation guidelines.

The suits seek to bring increased student enrollment, program offerings,

resources, and improved facilities to Cheyney.

Cheyney students and faculty are also petitioning the U.S. District Court in Washington to intervene in *Adams v. Richardson*, a case begun in 1974 to order the implementation of desegregation plans. *Adams v. Richardson* affects ten states, including Pennsylvania. For the past six years, however, Pennsylvania has been excused from implementing a desegregation plan, because of ongoing "negotiations" with the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

In the intervening six years, a process of systematically dismantling CSC has been carried out. Among the results:

Out of fifteen basic degree programs offered in the state higher education system, CSC is authorized to offer only nine.

Eleven faculty members are threatened with dismissal before next fall's semester begins.

The foreign-language department and 7 percent of the English department may be eliminated.

Housing facilities are insufficient for the number of students enrolled.

Cheyney students mobilized in demonstrations at the beginning of fall semester to win living space for students denied housing. Some of these students were housed in make-shift quarters in study lounges.

All of these attacks have come down in the name of "school desegregation," which has not been applied to predominantly white institutions, but turned upside down and used against traditionally Black ones.

Cheyney students point out that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act states that the burden of desegregation in higher education cannot be placed on traditionally Black colleges. The law stipulates that desegregation plans must account for "the unique role of traditionally Black colleges."

Roland Atkins, attorney for the

Cheyney students and faculty, has charged that while Pennsylvania imposed a quota of 30 percent white enrollment on CSC, no predominantly white school has ever been given a minority quota of greater than 13.7 percent.

Syndicated Black journalist and television commentator Tony Brown has explained that Cheyney is an example of national plans to destroy the country's 107 Black colleges. Black colleges are being forced into a deal in which they must become white colleges in exchange for funds, he has pointed out.

## ...Atlanta

Continued from preceding page

In its attempts to break the strike, the NTS has hired scabs, sought a court injunction against picketing, and sent out intimidating letters threatening to fire striking drivers.

This campaign, added to the drivers' personal economic hardship, has forced a number of strikers back to work. Even among these workers, sympathy for the strike and its demands remains strong.

The Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents the drivers of the city buses, refused to cross the picket line when asked to do so by superintendent of schools Alfonso Crim.

Robinson explained that in their door-to-door canvassing through the Black community, strikers found that "people were sympathetic with us for they could identify with us. They did not perceive us as the culprits."

Thomas Varner, another strike spokesperson, said:

"We know the strike is not just for us. It is for all brothers and sisters in our condition. It is working under these kinds of conditions that forces us onto welfare and onto the streets.

"You can't have respect for yourself when you don't have dignity on the job. This action will show people all over the country that they can fight back.

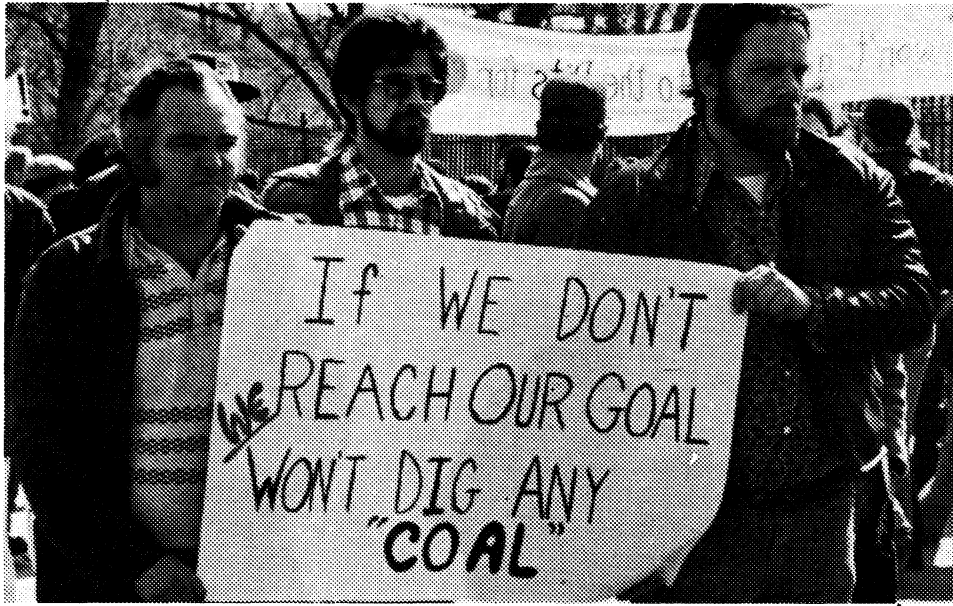
"It will show them that they have the power to deal with their problem."



# American politics after Reagan's victory



Militant/Ivan



1978 coal strike. Hatred of Reagan is already reported building up in mines. Militant/Nancy Cole

## Workers face bipartisan onslaught

### By Jack Barnes

There's always a rush to get out the first paperback book on the presidential election. The *Washington Post* political staff prepared one. It was going to be called *We, the People*. But they decided to make a last-minute change. Now the book is titled *None of the Above*. That, of course, captured the way millions of workers felt about this election.

Workers by and large voted *against* Carter or Reagan based on which one they perceived as threatening the worst disaster, not for either one because they thought he really represented our interests or offered a prospect of a better future. Polls reported the biggest single reason Reagan voters gave for their choice was, "It's time for a change."

In warning the Reagan administration not to overplay its hand, not to press too far too fast based on a spurious "conservative mandate," the *New York Times* editors pointed to the obvious: "Even if the voters are emphatic in saying, 'Throw the rascals out,' that is not the same as saying they love the new rascals."

Or will willingly sacrifice their rights and living standards for the new rascals. Not by a long shot.

Socialist coal miners held a meeting soon after the election. They reported, from a number of different areas, that although Reagan hasn't gotten into the White House, hasn't done a single thing yet, there's already a hatred of him building up in the mines. The idea is growing, they said, that we just threw out the one guy and now we're probably going to have to throw out the other one.

Most miners also figure they're in for a national strike next March, with the coal bosses again trying to deal major blows to their union rights, and they know for sure which side the government will be on.

#### Protests begin

Already many groups—antidraft, antinuclear, women's rights, opponents of racist violence—are talking about the need to hold counterinaugural and other protests.

Already Blacks especially are saying, "Now it's really going to come down. We're in for trouble and we've got to find a way to fight."

Many are convinced that the murders of Blacks in Buffalo, Atlanta, Youngstown, New Orleans, Indianapolis, and other cities are part of a nationwide racist conspiracy. They know the antibusing votes in Congress and Republican threats to repeal the Voting Rights Act encourage the Klan terrorists. And they suspect that government forces have an even more direct hand in the resurgence of anti-

Black violence. Those suspicions, of course, are correct.

Already the trial balloons about stepped-up U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta and other right-wing regimes are prompting calls to mobilize against the war danger.

The more Reagan moves to implement his program—basically the same program of take-backs Carter or Anderson would have to try to implement—the more opposition it will provoke. Strikes, demonstrations, rebellions, attempts by the oppressed and exploited to forge effective political alliances among themselves—the outcome of these struggles, not the elections, will determine how far the rulers can go in their plans to further violate our rights and take more chunks out of our living standards.

That's elementary for Marxists—that the class struggle, not the election process, is decisive.

But a second thing is true. That is the fact that, regardless of the workers' disgust with "all of the above," the employers continue to have a total monopoly, a stranglehold, over all government functions. Their political parties and they alone have the power to tax, the power to spend, the power to call out the police and army, the power to send us to war.

This monopoly affects everything—and affects it negatively. It deeply undercuts the workers' strength in strikes, in the daily battle to keep living standards from going down, in the struggle to avert war and maintain civil rights. It facilitates the continuing rightward drift of capitalist politics, here and abroad.

#### Who governs?

Which capitalist politician is *elected* doesn't decide the fundamental direction of capitalist politics. But who *governs*—the workers or the capitalists—decides a great deal. Ultimately it decides everything.

Something other than contempt for "all of the above" is urgently needed—a political instrument to represent the working class and all the victims of capitalist society.

Without their own party—an independent labor party—the workers are perpetually caught in the trap of voting for one or another of the employers' choices to govern. They're boxed into politically supporting those who profit from the fundamental problems that workers are recoiling from and trying to fight against.

Workers don't continue to vote for capitalist party candidates today because they anticipate major positive results. They do it because they see no practical alternative.

Tens of thousands vote for the Socialist Workers Party to protest this state of affairs. But to the workers in their millions there is no way to vote for peace, for jobs, for affirmative action, for women's rights.

To the contrary, if you support a Democratic or Republican candidate who *seems* to be good on one question—a "jobs candidate" or a "women's rights candidate"—you inevitably find the price demanded is that you swallow the rest of their party's reactionary program. And you end up without the jobs or equal rights, either. There is no "single issue" answer.

#### 'We, the People'?

This two-party framework with no working-class alternative gives the ruling class a tremendous advantage. They are free to present everything as problems facing the whole country. That is, "we"—*We, the People*, the original title of the *Washington Post* staff's book—all of us here in the United States.

What are "we" going to do about inflation? About rebuilding "our" industries? About "our" foreign relations?

The workers and the employers both face problems, that's for sure. But what these questions deliberately obscure is that the solutions are polar opposites. The answer to *their* problems is to beat down *our* wages, lengthen our hours, take away our social services, poison our environment, send us to die in foreign wars, and deny our right to fight back. The answer to *our* problems lies in challenging *their* sacred profits and their ownership and control over society's wealth.

"We" don't have common interests. "We" is a country made up of classes with conflicting interests, in which *their* class is in control.

So instead of working-class answers, we are continually posed with fake dilemmas—"trade-offs"—in which either answer always weakens and divides the working class. Either high taxes or cuts in social services. Either a pay cut or lose your job. Either affirmative action or seniority. Either nuclear power or blackouts. These are "our" problems, the rulers say. Which alternative do you want? You can "democratically" decide.

That remains the fundamental problem in American politics—the absence of a labor party to bust through this framework and provide working-class answers.

We need a new kind of party, one that grows out of the battles of our class to defend itself and move forward toward a more just society. A party that politically advances our struggles instead of side-tracking them, that doesn't present biannual elections, followed by lobbying our "friends," as the be-all and end-all of politics. We need a party that draws together and is led by determined workers—including the unemployed, the unorganized, the undocumented, the discriminated against—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, working farmers, and rebellious youth in struggle against the exploiters.

Continued on next page

## Bipartisan Social Policy

The need for independent working-class political action was shown crystal clear in this election, but in a new framework. This election reflected the end of any basic difference between liberalism and conservatism on domestic social policy.

Of course, there's always a spectrum of opinions and proposals by capitalist politicians, and they will continue to label themselves—among other things—as liberals and conservatives. It's never true that there are *no* differences.

But what liberalism and conservatism have to offer, as they have been presented to workers especially since the 1930s, has substantially converged.

This is new. It is a product of the deepgoing economic problems of capitalism throughout the

the United States today is "on the edge of crisis" much like that in New York City in 1975.

He lists the parallels:

Both the city and the federal government have run budget deficits year after year.

Both are driving away business with high taxes and low productivity, he says.

New York City's bankruptcy is comparable to the nation's uncontrolled inflation and soaring debt.

There's "little difference between New York City's sky-rocketing pension costs and the requirements that social security be adjusted to the cost of living (COLA)."

Those are a few of the problems. What did they do about it in New York? He tells the story.

### 'Brutal shock'

"First came the brutal shock of actions intended to stop the hemorrhaging," he says. That had to come first. He lists them:

"... a wage freeze coupled with deferrals of past increases; a 20 percent reduction in the work force; increases in transit fares and tuition at City Univer-

the result would be a better city, a better environment, a better life."

I'll leave aside the question of how willing people were. This is the way we did it in New York, he says, and now we have to convince the workers of the entire country to take the same medicine.

### Not 'no growth'

This is "completely alien" to any long run "No Growth" idea, Rohatyn points out. That's true. The capitalists have never been "no growth" people, because capital can survive only by expanding. The expansion of profits, of course, is the central goal.

Besides, Rohatyn adds, the threat of permanent austerity is not politically realistic. "I would invite economists of the no-growth school to walk in the South Bronx and convince people there that a reduced standard of living is required to curb inflation," he says.

Instead, the American people must be convinced that austerity *now* is the only way to bring about a better life sometime in the future.

The accomplishment in New York City was important, Rohatyn explains, but to accomplish this in the country as a whole is now decisive to the ruling class. And there is only one way to do that.

Only if the same sacrifices in real wages and conditions can be wrung from workers in the heart of industrial production—the mines, mills, and factories—then and only then can the productivity, profit rates, and international competitive position of U.S. capitalism give any perspective whatsoever of future expansion.

### 'Padded society'

He then begins to make explicit what the pitch is—we live in a "padded society." Here's the padding that must be knocked out:

"Cost of living allowances and automatic increases for workers regardless of productivity; constantly increasing unemployment compensation and trade-adjusted payments for laid-off workers; constantly increasing pensions for retirees; ... COLAs for social security; government price supports for the farmers."

It's this padding, Rohatyn says, that "creates rigidity in wages and prices. . . ; that erodes the work ethic; that makes government deficits inevitable in good times and in bad."

He proposes three key measures to deal with this.

First, a freeze of wages and prices until a worked-out incomes policy can take its place with wages allowed to rise only in accord with productivity.

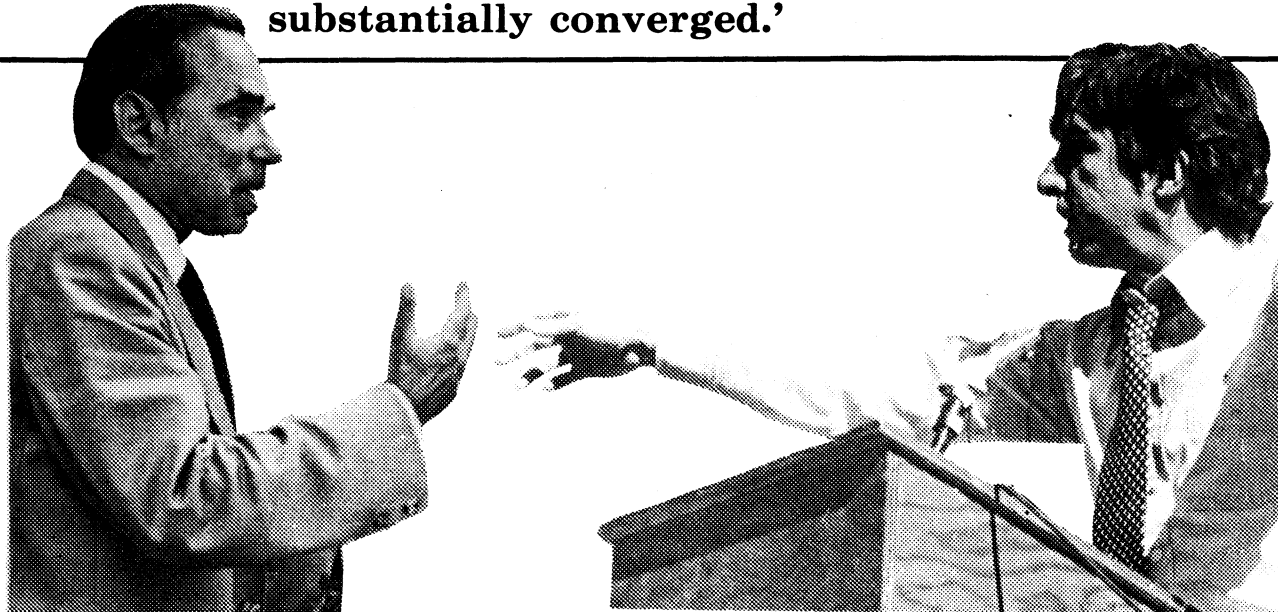
Second, a "stiff gasoline tax," with part of the revenue going to cut taxes for business and part going to increased military spending.

Third, he says, "we must have an adequate conscripted army with low pay"—this is straight stuff—"an adequate conscripted army with low pay, with no excuses from service except for health, and a highly professional, highly paid cadre of officers and non-coms."

### The coming crisis

Rohatyn acknowledges this program won't be accepted just yet—"our country today cannot muster a majority for anything except complaint." But a "crisis of sufficient magnitude," which he says is inevitably coming, may make it possible.

## 'What liberalism and conservatism have to offer has substantially converged.'



Felix Rohatyn, Tom Hayden

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

world, and the weakening position of U.S. capital against its major imperialist competitors. American capitalism's room to maneuver has diminished sharply. Its ability to compete, to thrive, and ultimately to survive depends on raising profit rates by drastically squeezing the working class.

Instead of rising living standards and concessions to the workers—which, however slow and grudging, are the sole stable basis for liberalism—demands for austerity and sacrifice must be the order of the day for all leading politicians of both parties. And they are.

This antilabor drive is intertwined with Washington's urgent need to beef up its military forces and restore its ability to deploy them against revolutionary upsurges from Central America to the Persian Gulf. The Carter administration's announced plans to spend \$1,000 billion on the military over the next five years—and Reagan's pledge to push that even higher by cutting even more domestic social programs—highlight this link.

One of the most revealing commentaries I've found so far on the new bipartisan domestic policy is an article by Felix Rohatyn. New Yorkers will remember him well. He is chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, "Big Mac"; special economics adviser to the governor of New York; and chief strategist of the six-year assault on New York workers. He's also senior partner in one of the biggest investment banking firms in the country.

Rohatyn spoke at a *Business Week* conference in Houston on what's ahead in 1981 and beyond, and his proposals were highly praised by *Business Week*. That's not a surprise. What is interesting is that a couple of weeks later his speech appeared without comment as the front-page article in the *New York Review of Books*, one of the most widely circulated publications among liberals and radicals in the country.

### New York and beyond

The speech was given before the election. Rohatyn says right off that "whoever is elected, we are condemned . . . to stumble from inflation to recession and back, with each stumble worse than the one before." So he lays out what "we" must do about it, and both the conservative *Business Week* and the liberal-radical *New York Review of Books* present this as what the country now faces after the election.

Being financial overlord of New York was an "eye-opening experience," Rohatyn says, and the lessons of that experience are significant because

sity for the first time in 120 years; reduction by the banks of interest rates paid by the city and extension of the time period of the city's loans [That's the "sacrifice" the bankers made for six months.—J.B.]; shifts in pension costs from the city to the unions; increased taxes and the creation of a state-run control board to pass on the city's budget."

He also tells how they followed up on the first "brutal shock":

"The large initial layoffs of city employees were followed by a period of limited attrition and then by a stabilization of the work force at its present level; the wage freeze was followed by a two-year labor settlement at 4 percent annually."

That's not the end of the story, though. "The reality of society's pressures" began to catch up with them.

"Harmony was broken by a transit strike this spring. Increasing social tension in the ghettos of Harlem and Bedford/Stuyvesant culminated in ugly demonstrations to block the closing of just one facility of the city's sprawling municipal hospital system." That "ugly" refers to the militant protests by the Black community and unionists against the brutal closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital.

So there's still some resistance they have to crush. And, as Rohatyn delicately puts it, "Some of the city's essential services have deteriorated."

"Still," he goes on, "what saved the city was a limited period of austerity, imposed under the direst of threats. . . ."

### How they did it

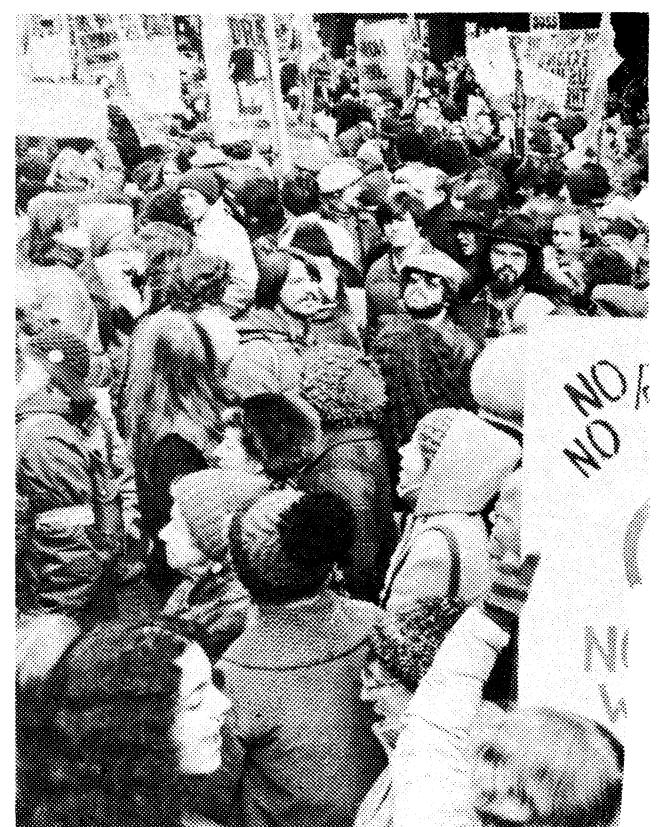
Rohatyn explains there were three keys to pushing through this austerity plan. First, the people of the city had to be convinced that "it was essentially imposed by outside forces—i.e., the state, the federal government, and the workings of the bond market."

Second, it required "a true social contract with business and labor." That is, the union leadership in New York—the Victor Gotbaums and Albert Shankers—agreed to help impose it. They agreed to put the phony "we" of New York City ahead of the class interests of the Black, Latino, and white workers of New York.

Third, people had to be promised that the squeeze now would avert a worse catastrophe and would eventually lead to normalcy or even prosperity in the future.

Rohatyn asserts: "The people of the city were willing to make real sacrifices as long as they believed that those sacrifices were relatively fairly distributed, that there was an end in sight, and that

## 'Workers are not convinced profits here or to die for'





"I do not believe that our society will stand the strain over the next four years," Rohatyn says. "Our next president will face an emergency during his term of office. . . ." It may begin in the Middle East or in Cleveland, he says, and the question is whether we will be able to meet it like we did in New York.

"That is obviously a risk for democracy as well as a hope," he says, because—as he chillingly adds—"austerity and democracy do not walk hand in hand in the United States, except in wartime."

His final words are that the crisis "will come sooner than we think."

That's the vision of the future brought to us both by *Business Week* and by the *New York Review of Books*.

## Death agony of liberalism

Rohatyn's speech came ten days before the election, emphasizing that this is what must be done regardless of who is elected. Ten days after the election, the *Wall Street Journal* opened its pages to Tom Hayden, a less serious figure but one who speaks for a certain layer of liberals.

Hayden explains that the old liberalism is finished. It's not just that it was "outspent, out-organized, beaten by the sinister electronic techniques of the radical right," as some claim. No, he says, "the deeper causes of liberalism's death were from within, in the crumbling world view and program of the liberals. . . ." He lists where they went wrong:

Liberals "became reluctant to wave the flag."

They "became critics of military spending per se, without a coherent military doctrine of their own."

They "believed that an expansion of the public sector was the answer to every ill of society."

Hayden also complains that liberals were soft on law and order and "adopted permissiveness as a new concept of freedom."

What's most interesting, though, is Hayden's program. It is, in essence, Rohatyn's program.

## Gatsby & Thoreau

Its cornerstones, as Hayden lists them, include energy conservation; an anti-inflation policy of "living within our means"; an "industrial recovery plan" of government aid to industry; a "new partnership in making economic decisions among corporations, labor, government and public interest groups"; a "Spartan national security" that includes stopping the "deadly invasion of German and Japanese cars and television sets"; and "use of pension funds as a precious source of capital."

That last is one where New York City certainly showed the way. By handing over union pension funds for investment in New York bonds, the workers' supposed future livelihoods were made hostage to the city government's financial well-being—to a budget "balanced" through never-ending cutbacks. It was one of the slickest examples yet of tying the workers to the profits of the employers, of deepening the idea that "we" are all in it together. That's what we need for the whole country, Hayden says.

At the heart of this new perspective, he explains, is building "public confidence for the future and willingness to sacrifice to get there."

"It comes down to moving from a wasteful,

## 'In the 1980s the rulers must try to give the New York treatment to the most strongly organized workers in basic industry.'



New York protest during 1975 budget crisis

privately oriented, self-indulgent existence to a more conserving, caring and disciplined life style. . . . the reassertion of personal responsibility in everything from conserving resources to decentralizing services to keep ourselves well through self-care. . . ."

I guess that means Harlem residents don't need Sydenham Hospital after all.

To sum it up, Hayden says, we must now move "from the opulence of the Great Gatsby to the frugal self-assurance of Henry David Thoreau."

This is what the liberal alternative has come to, in their own words.

If Hayden was more like Thoreau and less like Gatsby this would be no more correct but at least not so nauseating. We, unlike Hayden, don't have the resources to live like the Great Gatsby, nor do we have a country Walden Pond as a separate, self-sufficient retreat.

## Capitalists close ranks

To appreciate the full significance of the bipartisan domestic policy coming into being, we should look at the rulers' bipartisan foreign policy.

It arose from the U.S. rulers' needs at the end of the 1930s, first to crush their imperialist rivals of Germany and Japan and then to save capitalism from the revolutionary upsurges that swept Europe and Asia after the war.

Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, agreed to largely remove strategic foreign policy questions from the arena of partisan dispute and public debate. That's how they became top dog internationally in World War II, jointly launched the cold war, and openly assumed the role of world cop. They closed ranks against the world revolution.

This was accepted by the union bureaucracy as their foreign policy as well. They adopted the same hard-line anticommunism, hooked up with the State Department and CIA abroad, and witch-hunted "extremists" and militant workers at home. Doing all this, in collaboration with the employers and the government, was one of the keys to how the bureaucracy consolidated its stranglehold over the industrial unions during and after World War II, squelched motion toward a labor party, and prepared to enforce class peace for decades to come.

But on domestic social policy there was a difference. The economic expansion of American capitalism meant that liberalism could portray itself as a way forward, as a fundamental alternative to openly antilabor conservatism.

Although throughout this period the rights of workers on the job and in the unions were being whittled down, liberal capitalism could promise short-run concessions on wages and social benefits and it could deliver—at least for some section of the working class, at least for a while. That's what has come to an end. And now the Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, Kennedy

and Reagan, are forced to close ranks against the workers right here at home.

Demands for "national unity" against the world revolution and against what Hayden calls the "deadly invasion" of imports will be used to the hilt to try to outlaw debate and suppress opposition in the labor movement to these reactionary plans.

## War of nerves

But the workers are far from being won to the Rohatyn-Hayden perspective. They don't see COLA or a decent pension as "padding" to be stripped away. They're not convinced to sacrifice for corporate profits here or to die for them abroad. But the narrowing of the options presented by capitalist politics is keenly felt.

As the liberals' and conservatives' fundamental proposals converge, and as the economic and social problems worsen, the result might be described as a *war of nerves*. The workers and their organizations and all who claim to lead them come under tremendous pressure to accept one or another part of the ruling-class program—which is the best that any liberal politician has to offer.

After six years in which unemployment has never gone below 6 percent, after massive waves of plant closings and layoffs, blackmail over jobs is at the heart of this war of nerves. If you don't accept more pollution, more nuclear plants, more tax breaks for business, a lower minimum wage for youth, then you are opposed to getting the economy moving—you are responsible.

The pressure bears down: Maybe we do have to restrict imports, even if it means higher prices. Maybe affirmative action has gone too far. Maybe productivity really needs to be raised, and we should take a look at this along with management. Maybe that's the only way to slow down devastating inflation. Sure the refugees and immigrants have got it bad, but maybe we just have to keep them out. Nobody wants a war, but we can't let "our" oil be cut off. This is what the politicians, the news media, and the whole capitalist opinion-shaping apparatus try to impress upon the workers every day.

## Reassert racism

We have often pointed out how the rulers are striving to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome" to prepare American workers to go to war. So they also have to try to reassert racist and reactionary ideas that have been deeply eroded in the working-class and union movement under the impact of the civil rights, women's liberation, and other social protests.

The rulers are relentlessly campaigning to try to break down solidarity among workers, to deepen divisions between employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, white and Black, male and female, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking, native-born and immigrant.

In the absence of any mass party putting forward a class perspective of uniting the workers and the oppressed in struggle against this offensive, the employers' onslaught inevitably causes widespread confusion. Some of the reactionary ideas are echoed by quite a few workers. But we often find they don't run very deep; they can be thrown into doubt by even a little discussion and questioning.

## Lesser-evil choices

Lacking a class alternative, the workers are still forced to make lesser-evil choices. Those appear—no matter how little the differences—to be the only choices available.

It's important to keep in mind that the death of the old liberalism doesn't mean the death of lesser-evilism. All lesser-evilism needs is two evils that are not exactly identical. They can be Hindenburg and Hitler.

Millions of workers voted for Reagan as a lesser evil to Carter, not because they agree with Reagan's reactionary platform. Just as millions of others—including the majority of Black workers who voted—voted for Carter as a lesser evil to Reagan, not because most had any confidence in Carter.

We have to be extremely wary of how these lesser-evil choices are misrepresented by the media and many radicals to paint a false picture of working-class consciousness. The *Guardian*, for example, lamented the defeat of "progressive" referenda in various states as evidence of "the rightward swing of the electorate." One they cited was a phony tax reform referendum in Ohio.

One of our Cleveland comrades, discussing the elections with a fellow Black unionist there, was somewhat surprised to learn he had voted against the "fair tax" referendum. This worker, a respected

*Continued on next page*

## to sacrifice for corporate nem abroad.'



Militant/Lou Howort

Continued from preceding page

nion and civil rights fighter, explained that he simply didn't believe the promises from the politicians and union officials about what this measure could do. Regardless of what any of them said, he suspected the "reform" would mean higher taxes for him and other workers.

This steelworker isn't part of any "swing to the right." He's just a lot sharper than the *Guardian*, which uncritically repeated the Democratic politicians' claim that this referendum "would have lifted the tax burden onto business and the wealthy."

Nor do the defeat of bonds and other tax increases that supposedly fund social services mean workers are turning against welfare, education, and public health care.

Workers sense how the classical liberal promises are coming unstuck. It's just not true that if you agree to pay higher taxes you get better services. You get better services—or you block some of the cutbacks—only if you fight hard enough. All you get by voting for more taxes is more taxes.

### Beneath the surface

The persistence of lesser-evilmism shouldn't blind us to the deeper reality of how millions of workers are becoming more politicized and less confident in the capitalist parties and in capitalism itself.

We have to see beneath the surface confusion that is caused by intense ruling-class pressure. Beneath it there are more workers—especially young workers—who oppose discrimination, more workers ready to protest injustice, more workers who are open to considering methods and answers that go beyond what is put forward by the established leaderships in the unions and the Black organizations.

Our entire party got a firsthand feel for this as we talked with hundreds of thousands of working people during the petition drive to put our candidates on the ballot. And our candidates reported that as they toured the country they kept running into examples of these new moods bursting out from below the surface.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, got to Philadelphia this fall just at the end of a hard-fought teachers' strike. He said teachers—white and Black—were brimming with pride at a protest demonstration of 10,000 parents, students, and teachers who had sat down in the streets around city hall. They thought this was the greatest thing that had happened in Philadelphia in years and kept boasting of how traffic was blocked for most of the morning. Their protest was directed at the Democratic mayor their union had supported in the previous election, and they were learning from that.

### From Vermont to Texas

What Andrew said stuck in his mind the most, however, was a tiny picket line of workers in rural Vermont striking for union recognition at a plastics plant. They were all white, he said, and most were women in their forties and fifties. Yet they enthusiastically greeted him as socialist candidate for president, welcomed his solidarity, and agreed with a lot of what he said about the need for a labor party.

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president, told of meeting striking bus drivers in Dallas—mostly Black—who were learning in struggle that *they*, not the transit management, cared about the quality of public transportation and were qualified to run it. They saw the attack on their union as an attack on the Black and Chicano communities, which are the most dependent on bus service. And they themselves raised the question of why there were no bus drivers or other workers on the city council.

Struggles like these are still sporadic and defensive. They end in stalemates or defeats more often than victories. But they are symptomatic of the new moods and through them many workers are learning valuable lessons.

Josefina Otero, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Arizona, said when she visited striking copper miners—mostly Chicanos—she was not surprised to find they gave a warm response to the idea of a labor party. What really struck her, she said, was their vehement opposition to the draft and war, their concern over the abuse of undocumented workers, and how they themselves had organized to aid Salvadoran refugees in the area.

### Newport News campaign

One part of the socialist protest vote this year is worth taking special note of—the support that Sharon Grant, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, won in Newport News, Virginia. The Democrats didn't run, so it was a two-way race between Sharon and a Reaganite Republican.

Newport News itself is one of the most dramatic

examples of the new readiness to struggle, especially in the South. Thousands of Black and white shipyard workers joined to fight the company, the cops, and the state to win union recognition. Many of these militants went on to become involved in protests for the Equal Rights Amendment and against Klan violence.

The party campaigned aggressively and Sharon—a pipefitter at Norfolk Shipbuilding—was well-known as the Socialist Workers candidate. She got 13,616 votes, or 10 percent of the total. In three largely Black, working-class precincts she got more

### 'Part of the polarization is the increasing boldness of ultraright and fascist forces.'



than 40 percent of the vote. It's clear a lot of those were votes from shipyard workers.

Our candidates and campaigners talked with working-class and farm families around Love Canal, Three Mile Island, and now Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Indian Point, New York, whose attitudes toward capitalism and the government will never be the same.

We talked with young workers in uniform whose inside view of the U.S. military and what it is being prepared to do has made them determined anti-imperialists. With Black Vietnam veterans who think the skills Uncle Sam taught them ought to be put to use defending their communities against Klan violence.

Under pressure of these kinds of sentiments building up in the working class, the changes are finding expression in official union policy. In the past year the unions have come forward as among the most active supporters of the ERA. Just last month the United Mine Workers and United Steelworkers joined with leaders of the National Organization for Women and the NAACP in organizing an anti-Klan rally in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. And the UMW is more and more providing leadership for the entire antinuclear movement, notably by its role in the 1,000-strong Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh in October.

### Polarization

So while the ruling class continues to move to the right and to push political life, which they dominate, in that direction (as clearly registered in this election and its aftermath), the working class is not. The result is a deepening *class polarization*.

This is disguised by the class-collaborationist stance of the tops in the labor bureaucracy, but it is the most important fact of American politics.

Part of the polarization, part of the war of nerves, is the increasing boldness of ultraright and fascist forces. They draw encouragement from the rightward shift of capitalist politics and from the tolerance their violence gets from the capitalist government.

This too found expression in the November election. Gerald Carlson, an open Nazi running on an open Nazi platform, won the Republican nomination in the Fifteenth Congressional District in Michigan, right outside Detroit. In the general election, 32 percent of voters pulled the Republican lever for him! Thomas Metzger, the Ku Klux Klan Democrat running in the Forty-third District in southern California, got 12 percent.

At the same time as the fascists are moving to

spread their ideas and establish their legitimacy through campaigns like these, we also see them engage in an unchecked wave of anti-Black violence and boast of the paramilitary camps where they are training for "race war."

The fact of the employers' unofficial apparatus of repression alongside their official one was highlighted by something else. The *New York Times* noted in an editorial two weeks before the election that there are now three times as many private cops as public ones. Three times as many Pinkertons, private guards, plant security, etc., than all the city police, sheriffs' departments, and state troopers put together.

These extralegal and ultrarightist forces are being tooled up, and we know the rulers will use them more and more to try to intimidate the working class and to terrorize Blacks and other vanguard fighters. Rohatyn is correct when he says that austerity and democracy do not walk hand in hand.

### Unions in the New Framework

The trade-union bureaucracy was stunned by the Republican election victory. The union officialdom had thrown big money into trying to reelect Carter and other Democrats. Alexander Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, called it the biggest and best labor political effort he had ever seen. Reagan's election was a smashing blow to these bureaucrats, since their perspective in life revolves around their relations with capitalist politicians.

Their first reaction, of course, was to blame the workers. That's the bureaucrats' natural response to every calamity caused by their own misleadership. They said the workers have moved to the right.

On election night I saw a television interview with Victor Gotbaum, the head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City. He looked like he had just lost his best friend. He was being interviewed along with A. H. Raskin, the long-time labor editor of the *New York Times*.

Gotbaum explained that the problem was the workers, who actually went for all this Reagan demagoguery.

But, Raskin asked him, how can your members be confident that you have any ideas that can move things forward?

So Gotbaum launched into a defense of Lane Kirkland, the AFL-CIO president. He said, don't be confused by images and prejudices you may have. Lane Kirkland has a lot of new ideas.

### The obvious question

Right at the end of this Raskin said, "No disrespect, Vic," but one thing puzzles him. Why, he asked, is this the only country in the world where the labor movement has not organized its own political party?

Raskin pointed out that Gotbaum had laid out labor's needs—jobs, social benefits, protection from inflation, and so forth—but labor has no political mechanism to fight for this.

Of course, Raskin wasn't proposing a class-struggle political formation organizing for union rights, Black rights, against war, etc. But he asked the obvious question: Why is this the only country (he's talking about imperialist countries) where labor hasn't organized its own party so it can fight—even if in the framework of "necessary" collaboration with the employers—for its political program?

Gotbaum seemed to be amazed to hear this. He responded, well, this country is much more complicated than other countries. And that was the end of the interview.

No, the answer isn't complicated, it's simple. That is, the workers are to the left of their leadership—far to the left—in action and in class consciousness, especially the most militant workers such as the Blacks and the youth. They are blocked from using their power, either on the shop floor or in politics, by the backward policies of this bureaucracy.

### No new ideas

There are no new ideas, nor can there be any new ideas from this leadership.

The bureaucracy really has *no* ideas of its own. It is not part of a social class with distinct interests and a program that reflects those interests. Rather, it is a parasitic petty-bourgeois layer that squats on top of and feeds off the workers organizations but that identifies itself totally with the outlook and program of the capitalist liberals (and sometimes conservatives). As the liberal alternative disap-



pears, the bureaucrats are thrown into even deeper crisis.

The extent of Lane Kirkland's "new ideas" was spelled out well in a *Wall Street Journal* feature November 17. It points to Kirkland's two great triumphs of the past year.

One, "he helped shape President Carter's economic revitalization program, arguing forcefully for an economic revitalization board made up of business, labor and government members." The *Journal* says Kirkland even threatened to withhold AFL-CIO endorsement of Carter if the tripartite board wasn't included in the plan.

Second, he "played a key role in drafting the administration's 'national accord'" on holding down wages.

The *Journal* adds that Kirkland "has won praise as an emissary to the business community. Last spring, after addressing the blue-chip Business Council at the nonunion Homestead resort in Hot Springs, Va., he mingled in the lounge with business leaders and spent an afternoon playing gin rummy with DuPont Co. Chairman Irving Shapiro."

### Conflicting pressures

As an intermediate social layer, the bureaucracy is torn in different directions by the polarization. It's not simply that some bureaucrats move to the right and others to the left. Rather, the same individuals, subject to these conflicting pressures from the workers and the capitalists, make contradictory moves that reflect both.

No sector of the bureaucracy—including those talking about a labor party—shows any perspective of breaking out of the framework of capitalist politics. We have no illusions about that. But neither is any sector totally immune to the pressure of growing discontent and desire for action among the ranks.

United Mine Workers President Sam Church is a good example. He came into office as the darling of the coal companies, consciously determined to break the remaining democracy in the UMWA and to help the bosses restore discipline, productivity, and profits.

Yet Church also gave the best speech of any top union official at the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh last month. He spoke out forcefully against nuclear

power, against the energy monopolies, and against war in the Middle East.

The UMWA's official antinuclear stance, and the Church leadership's tolerance for moves to put that into action, strengthen the union and provide what may be the biggest opening in the labor movement today for class-conscious militants.

### Letters from Henning

Another example of the contradiction is John Henning, head of the California Labor Federation. Henning is the one who, a year ago, opened up an official discussion in the CLF about the problems with the two-party system and the possibility of a labor party. This has provided a big opportunity for advocates of the labor party, such as ourselves, to deepen the discussion within our unions and especially where it counts the most, among the ranks.

Henning makes his own position clear. He is *against* a labor party. Now is not the time, he says. He pushed endorsements of Carter and of California Gov. Edmund Brown through the CFL and went all-out to campaign for them.

His view of politics was well summed up by a letter he sent out a couple of weeks before the election in support of Stan Smith. Smith is a union official who ran for board of supervisors (city council) in San Francisco.

Smith's candidacy was not a step toward independent labor political action. He ran as a supporter of the Democratic Party and its candidates, and as a representative of the construction "community," even endorsed by some of the big construction bosses.

Equally if not more important, Smith broke with the rest of the labor movement to take a reactionary position on a key question in San Francisco politics—he came out against district elections to the board of supervisors, which can facilitate some representation by the Black, Latino, and Asian communities.

In urging labor to get behind Stan Smith's campaign, Henning warned that if we can't elect Smith, it "will prove to our critics that we no longer have the muscle to even get one of our own elected."

So what does Henning ask for? "Not for time," he says. "Not for volunteering." Just for cash, since "money is an absolute necessity to win a race in this day and age."

That's Henning's perspective in practice—no

mobilizations, just money to elect a liberal labor Democrat with a program big parts of which were racist.

### Labor and minorities

Well, Henning sent out another letter on November 4 to all California AFL-CIO unions and councils. "The Great Presidential Election is being held today," he writes, with the sarcasm of the capital letters perhaps indicating he's already feeling that the results could be ominous. But, he goes on, "regardless of its outcome the need for Labor to keep politically active and politically thoughtful remains a duty that falls on all of us."

So he urges attendance at a meeting to continue the political discussion that's been going on. What's interesting is the character of the meeting. It's on "Labor, the Minorities and the Two Party System."

Henning says that the "growth of political conservatism in America threatens not only labor unions, but also the Black, Brown and Asian peoples. In a very real way labor shares a common cause with the racial minorities."

He says the meeting will discuss whether the current two-party political system "so heavily dependent upon corporate financing can actually represent the bread and butter requirements of Labor and the Minorities." And it will be addressed by "representatives of the Labor, Black and Brown communities."

The question Henning poses here is exactly the right one. The political system that is the creature of the employers cannot produce for labor or for the oppressed nationalities. And the direction to look for answers is toward united action and a political alliance of exactly those he names—the unions and the Black and Latino communities.

The political discussion is going to continue. It won't go away, and it won't wait until 1984. We're already getting reports that at other post-election conferences—of Latino workers in New Jersey, of antinuclear activists in Chicago-Gary—the labor party idea is coming up for serious discussion.

### Ranks are decisive

We can look forward to plenty of opportunities for both discussion and action in the months ahead. The Philadelphia conference to launch an independent Black political party; the ongoing labor party discussions in California and elsewhere; the January protests that may well bring together labor and many of its allies; the possibility of major antinuclear actions in the spring that could coincide with a coal miners' strike.

As we participate in all these, our eyes are continually on the ranks of the labor movement—especially on the young workers, the Blacks and Latinos, the women, the militant workers who are beginning to think these questions out. They will be the decisive force to resolve the crisis that the employers promise us in the 1980s, as the rulers try to give the New York treatment to the most strongly organized workers in basic industry.

The employers believe the unions are weaker than ever. They have the union leadership sized up correctly. They have their plans made. But their problem is that, once they push through the bureaucrats, they inevitably bump up against the workers. That's what happened in the coalfields in 1977-78. It's what happened in Newport News. It will happen more.

Only the ranks aroused to action in their own interests can stop the plans of the employers, their government, and their fascist gangs. And it is only because of what is happening in the ranks already that the official openings are increasing in the unions today.

### Think socially, act politically

Confronted with the employers' bipartisan offensive, the labor movement must think socially and act politically.

The employers' phony trade-offs, their attempts to divide the working class, their attempt to pose problems as problems of the *country* instead of the *class* must be rejected. The labor movement has to stand up for the interests of the oppressed and take the lead in fighting against capitalism's plunge toward war, nuclear and environmental disaster, and escalating repression.

This fight requires mobilizing the power of the union ranks, together with the explosive power we've seen in Miami, Chattanooga, and other cities.

The current labor officialdom cannot lead this; the unions as they function now cannot do the job.

The young workers—as the battles increase on many fronts, as they change and learn and gain confidence—will roll over the framework and change the ground rules of the current labor movement.

So while the 1980s seems to open as the decade of bipartisan Reaganism, it will go down in history as the decade of the young rebel workers.

**'The young workers—as the battles increase on many fronts, as they change and learn and gain confidence—will roll over the framework and change the ground rules of the current labor movement.'**



Newport News shipyard workers march defiantly past yard's main gate after police attacked picket lines and union headquarters in 1979 strike.

Militant/Jon Hillson

# Klan's armed camps: evidence of racist plot

By Osborne Hart

Recent revelations about Ku Klux Klan paramilitary training camps and KKK links to ultraright terrorists in Europe provide new evidence of a nationwide anti-Black conspiracy operating with government sanction.

A recent Justice Department study of three Klan factions concluded that Bill Wilkinson's Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is the most violent and "bears watching."

Wilkinson's group, which in his words is preparing for a "race war," has organized "special forces camps" that train Klan members in methods of killing and the use of automatic weapons (November 25 *New York Times* and December 7 *New York Times Magazine*).

The Klan has camps in several states. One in Alabama is named My Lai after the Vietnamese village where more than 600 men, women, and children were massacred by U.S. troops in 1968.

A similar camp was uncovered near Houston, where the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were training Boy Scouts and youth as young as eight in techniques of strangling and the use of firearms. The Klan is on a campaign to recruit to its Youth Corps.

A *Houston Chronicle* story November 23 exposed the camp. Joe Bogart, an ex-marine who was an instructor, said, "I am proud to be a member of the Klan. There are only two groups I'll battle with, Communists and homosexuals. That's the basic reason I joined the Klan."

During a recent conference of right-wingers in downtown Kansas City, Missouri, a session was devoted to instructions in methods of murder with handguns and the use of semi-automatic weapons.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported November 25 that the largest Belgian fascist organization, Viaamse



Bill Wilkinson, center, heads Klan unit that government labels the 'most violent.'

Militanten Orde, is suspected of having financial and other ties with U.S. racist groups.

The Belgian League for Human Rights reports that "cooperation among neo-fascist groups from many European countries . . . is on the rise."

A spokesperson for the league said that VMO leader Bert Ericksson's "visit to the Georgia home of J.B. Stoner, the white supremacist, is just

the beginning of closer cooperation between the VMO and the American fascist movement."

Various European fascist groups have carried out bombings this year that killed eighty-four people in Bologna, Italy; twelve people in Munich, Germany; and four at a synagogue in Paris.

Like the U.S. Klan, the European fascists emphasize opposing the rights

of immigrant workers. And like the Klan, their organizations overlap considerably with the police.

In a front-page story October 23, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on secret meetings and connections between California Klan head Thomas Metzger, who was a Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the November elections, and Manfred Roeder, a West German neo-Nazi wanted in connection with a number of terrorist bombings in Europe.

Roeder's visit to the United States included trips to Washington, D.C., and Buffalo, New York, "where he talked with sympathizers."

According to a *Chronicle* source, "During his stay in the Bay Area, Roeder instructed Klansmen and Nazis in the use of explosives."

Commenting on the KKK relations with the European neo-Nazi, Metzger told the *Chronicle*, "There is only one movement. Our goals are similar."

The evidence illustrates that the Klan, however small, is well financed, armed, organized, and is carrying out violent acts.

Yet the government is in no rush to apprehend or prosecute any of the known racists, even when they flagrantly violate the law.

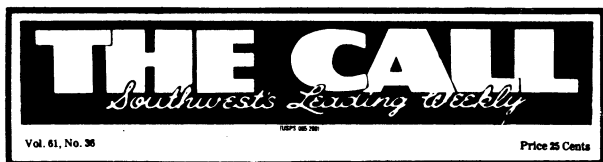
According to the Justice Department's report, government agents have "frequently found Klan members in possession of explosives or guns, but the Treasury Department agency has not attempted to prosecute them because it was unaware [!] the Klansmen were convicted felons barred from purchasing or possessing firearms" (*New York Times*, November 24).

If government authorities had any intention of dealing with the racists responsible for the murders of Blacks in Buffalo, Atlanta, Greensboro, etc., the logical starting point for any investigation would be the Klan's armed camps.

## Black papers decry Greensboro acquittal

The recent acquittal of Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis in the murders of five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina, has provoked international outrage. It has also sparked a discussion in the Black movement on the meaning of this verdict.

The following excerpts from the Black press in North America are contributions to that discussion.



Published in Kansas City, Missouri. From an editorial in the November 28-December 4 issue:

The "not guilty" verdict handed down last week against six members of the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan, charged with the murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party almost one year ago in Greensboro, N.C., could have far-reaching implications in the days and weeks ahead.

It was a similar verdict, rendered in favor of Miami police officers charged with the murder of Arthur McDuffie that led to the recent uprising in the Liberty City section of Miami.

An unfortunate sequence of events, made even more peculiar by the allegations of police involvement and a statement by one Nazi describing the verdict as a "great victory for white America," has been reduced to an ideological confrontation between Communists and Fascists in the news media, making it appear as though two "undesirable groups" in our society were attempting to eliminate each other and therefore the matter should be of no great concern to the rest of us decent citizens.

Quite to the contrary, the needless waste of any life, especially when Nazis and Klan members are responsible and the event is filmed in broad daylight, should be a matter of the utmost concern to all.

With right-wing kooks in soiled bed linen coming out of closets in all directions, and with the recent

abundance of evidence that political sentiment is shifting to the far right, travesties of justice such as this do not bode well for the immediate future of our divided country.

One can't help but wonder how aggressively (or leniently) the law enforcement officials . . . handled the prosecution of the Nazi and Klan members involved.

With recent revelations of the role the FBI and law enforcement agencies played in discrediting Dr. Martin Luther King and members of the Black Panthers, along with many other civil rights activists who had committed no crimes whatsoever, the Greensboro fiasco leaves much room for doubt.



Published in Toronto, Canada. From an editorial in the November 21 issue:

Within the last years we have seen an amazing swing to the right along with the coming to prominence of the Ku Klux Klan, which has members running for public office. In every case Blacks suffer.

We are concerned over the ease with which reactionary ideas can be easily accepted and defended.

We must be concerned when we see developments like the acquittal of the Nazi and Klan members of murdering Blacks and Communists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

We must be concerned when little Black children are being snatched from their mothers in Atlanta, Georgia, and later found dead.

We see in Buffalo Blacks being killed in racist incidents and at home in Toronto that politicians who stand up for minority groups are likely to feel the wrath of majority at the polling stations.

There is a strong feeling in the Black community that no one will take on the liability of standing up for minorities and that we must defend ourselves.

And there are Blacks who are so frustrated that they will do anything to bring about change.

It will be hard convincing these Blacks that they

should go the route of the courts if nine months later they are going to come away with a stronger feeling of injustice.

We still feel non-violence is the proper course. We must continue the struggle for justice, united. And we must encourage all freedom-loving people to join the fight.



Published in New York City. From an editorial in the November 22 issue:

"The law is a horrible business. There is no such thing as justice—in or out of court."

—Clarence S. Darrow, 1936

Admittedly, we did not attend the five month long trial, nor did we see and hear the evidence and testimony as did the jury.

What disturbs us is that with the re-emergence of the Klan and the persistent growth of the "American" Nazis, the spectre of increased anti-Black terrorism rises higher each day in our senses.

The Greensboro acquittals may quite easily be interpreted as a form of license for both the Klan and the Nazis to become even bolder in spreading their vileness and violence.

It is always difficult to uphold the principles of the First Amendment when it is sullied by the likes of such depraved maniacs as the Klan and the Nazis. However, holding to principles is a true and severe test for a democracy.

But, the First Amendment does not protect against criminal acts, including the denial of civil rights to U.S. citizens.

We fervently hope that Deputy Attorney General Drew Days, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, will pursue the Greensboro case with a view to possible Federal prosecutions.

Simultaneously, it would be comforting if we fully believed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would develop cases against both the Klan and the Nazis for violations of Federal criminal statutes.

It would be comforting, but we are not persuaded that the FBI will do so.



## Defy gov't ban, goon squads

# Baja California university workers strike

By Mike Kelly

TIJUANA, Mexico—Despite right-wing goon squad attacks, strikers at the Autonomous University of Baja California remain firm in their commitment to stay out until victory.

On strike since November 13 are members of the Union of Academic Workers (STA) and the Union of Service Workers (STS).

Among other things they are demanding recognition of their unions as official bargaining units instead of the government-imposed "white unions" (*blancos*) and the reinstatement of all fired workers.

The rector of the university has stepped up the repression against the strike. On November 24, 660 workers were fired from their jobs, bringing the total fired to 708, or more than half the strikers.

To win back their jobs they are required to sign an individual contract with the university giving up all seniority, renouncing their current union affiliation and signing up with the "official" unions and signing away other rights.

Few if any strikers have signed up.

### Attack on strikers

On November 25 about 3 a.m., the most serious attacks took place. In Mexicali a group of 100 *porros*—right-

wing students paid by the rector—attacked strike activists guarding the front of the university section in this city, injuring at least three strikers.

In response the unions and sympathetic students mounted a protest demonstration there later in the day. It drew more than 3,000 protesters, according to ABC, a Tijuana daily.

Under reactionary labor law the campus unions cannot legally go on strike, so the strike was begun by sympathizing students who shut down the great majority of schools in the university system throughout Baja California. The STS and STA were thus enabled to go out themselves.

The strike has its roots in a new law passed October 21 by the Mexican Congress. Faced with a growing movement to unite all university employees and academic personnel in one national union, the López Portillo government responded by declaring such a union illegal.

However, to attempt to blunt the protest over its decree, the government made an important concession to the various unions involved. The October 21 decree recognized all existing agreements as contracts without having to go through the long bureaucratic process of the past.

The decree also said that contract



Militant/Mike Kelly

November 23 demonstration in Tijuana, Mexico, to support university strikers and squatters' struggle.

negotiations and enforcement would automatically fall to the majority union in each university in the system.

However, the rector of the Autonomous University recognized the minority "white unions" as the majority unions and their contracts as the valid ones.

The rector also dismissed sixty-six academic personnel and employees. The entire strike executive committee was among those fired. Scabs were brought in to fill their positions.

### Solidarity with strikers

Many other unions, including the electrical workers and telephone workers, have donated money or food in solidarity with the strikers.

On November 23, 350 demonstrators held a militant march and rally in downtown Tijuana expressing their support for the strike and for a squatters movement from the "Sánchez Taboada" area of southwestern Tijuana.

The squatters movement or *colonos* are organized in the CUCUTAC (Comité Union de Colonos Urbanos de Tijuana, Asociación Civil).

The movement originated in 1977 when the government ordered more than 1,100 families living in the Zona del Rio area, scheduled to be turned into a new water canal, to move.

The tenants successfully resisted for more than two years until February

1980, when the government opened the dam waters, flooding the entire area.

Meanwhile, these people learned that after the canal project was completed the land was to be zoned for luxury housing and office complexes!

After many protests the government agreed to cede land in the "Sánchez Taboada" area for settling by the dispossessed *colonos*.

### Squatters seize land

Provision was made, however, for only 950 families, leaving some 150 families out in the cold. These families, after many months of bureaucratic delays, decided to seize land next to the 950.

To split the 950 from the 150, the government reneged on earlier promises to provide the first group with basic services, including potable water, electricity, drainage, and improvement of their roads before the rainy season. So the focus of the Tijuana demonstration was to demand these services immediately for all the families.

In both struggles activists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, are playing leading roles. At the November 23 Tijuana rally there was much interest in revolutionary ideas as nine subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and sixteen individual copies were sold.

## SUBSCRIBE!

'Perspectiva Mundial' is the Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant.' Like the 'Militant,' it carries regular coverage of the labor movement and the struggles for social justice in the United States and abroad, plus news and analysis with a special emphasis on the workers movement in Latin America.

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# Mexico: peasants say landowners killed leader

By Aníbal Yáñez

Last week's *Militant* reported the murder of Donaciano Sorcia, a Mexican peasant leader, and the attempted murder of Gregorio Paredes. On November 12 a truck tried to run down both of them. Paredes escaped, but Sorcia was killed.

This occurred in Palmarillo, in the state of Veracruz, scene of mounting peasant struggles.

Sorcia was active in the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee (CCRI). Paredes is a leader of the organization and also of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Sorcia was also a party member.

Both the party and peasant union have issued statements charging big landowners in the area with the killing of Sorcia and the near-assassination of Paredes because of their role in the peasant battles.

Over the last few years hundreds of peasants have fallen victims of massacres and repression throughout the country.

In northwest Mexico, in areas like the Yaqui Valley where Gregorio Paredes participated in land seizures, there are highly advanced centers of U.S. agribusiness—very much like that of the Imperial Valley of California.

One sees vast fields of tomatoes and other crops, miles of concrete irrigation canals, Ford and John Deere tractors instead of primitive plows, and crop-dusters which cover the fields with Niagara or Dow chemicals.

The expansion of U.S. agribusiness into Mexico has accelerated the development of modern capitalist agriculture, with its corresponding class structure.

In several areas, agricultural production is controlled by gigantic multinational corporations like Del Monte, Campbells, and General Foods.

The growth of the giant farms has brought a corresponding increase in hunger and misery.

Small peasants are ruthlessly deprived of their land to make way for the giant farms.

Meanwhile, the lucrative export crops increasingly displace crops traditionally grown to feed the local population.

### 'Land and Freedom!'

Faced with this imperialist control, the slogan "Land and Freedom!" is still relevant today, more than sixty years after the murder of the revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata.

Over the years, many peasant organizations have been primarily instruments in the hands of the government and the Mexican bourgeoisie to control the peasant movement. But this control has begun to crack, as is evidenced by the development of militant independent peasant organizations throughout the country.

The CCRI, which has now suffered a blow with the murder of Sorcia and the attempted murder of Paredes, was founded in 1977 by peasant groups from Sonora, Colima, Morelos, Zacatecas, Puebla, Veracruz and Sinaloa. Since then it has been

actively projecting a national organization of poor peasants, Indian communities, agricultural proletarians, and the landless poor.

The CCRI has led dozens of struggles in defense of the interests of the peasants. It has also been in the forefront of solidarity with the struggles of the workers, slum-dwellers, and students. It supports the fight for freedom for political prisoners in Mexico.

The CCRI has also supported the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

One of the most recent victories won by the CCRI was the organization of the Independent Farmworkers Union of Coahuila (SITCC), made up of farmworkers from the area of La Laguna in the state of Coahuila in northern Mexico. This region is a big producer of cotton for export. The government has refused to grant union recognition, but the SITCC has responded with mass mobilizations and stepped-up organizing efforts.

These struggles have gotten the government and landowners scared. This is why the Mexican ruling class wants to get rid of revolutionaries who are building the independent peasant organizations like CCRI. It points to the real reason behind the events of November 12 in Palmarillo, Veracruz.

Solidarity messages to the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee's defense efforts can be sent to: Margarito Montes Parra, Secretario General de la CCRI, Baja California 71, México 7, D.F. Mexico.

# Washington plots regional war network

By Stu Singer

Last week's *Militant* printed the full text of the "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America" written by U.S. government officials from the State Department and other agencies.

This week and in coming issues we will examine revelations from the dissent paper and correlate them with other information that has become available.

In a telephone interview I had with Donald Mathes, the public affairs adviser for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of the State Department, he insisted the dissent paper was "bogus."

I asked him about some specific points made in the document. For example, what kind of military aid is the U.S. giving El Salvador?

He claimed that no lethal weapons are being sent, only trucks and communications equipment. He specifically denied that helicopters are being sent or that Salvadoran pilots are being trained by the U.S. military.

He did admit that 250 Salvadoran troops are being trained at U.S. bases in Panama. But he claimed, "The



El Salvador: Freedom fighters have unified operations under Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

## 'Dissent paper' in Spanish, English

'Perspectiva Mundial' is publishing the entire text of the 'dissent paper' in Spanish. Single copies sixty cents; bundle orders of five or more, forty-five cents per copy. Write to 408 West Street, New York, New York 10014. For subscription rates, see ad on preceding page.

Additional copies of last week's 'Militant' with the English text are still available from the Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Copies of the dissent paper are also available from the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) for \$1.50. Write to Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

training is designed to sensitize military personnel to the rights of the public."

The success of the "sensitivity" training was demonstrated by the murder of four American women just when I was talking to Mathes.

## U.S. military role

Is the United States militarily involved in El Salvador?

No, according to the State Department.

Yes, according to the State Department employees who wrote the dissent paper.

Under the heading, "Current US role in El Salvador," the dissenters wrote that "no less than twelve agencies of the government and numerous NGO's [non-governmental agencies]" are carrying out U.S. policy in El Salvador.

The extent of involvement? According to the dissent paper, "The resources invested in this effort exceed those allocated to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965." That was the year Lyndon Johnson sent thousands of marines into the Dominican Republic to overthrow the elected reform government.

But a massive U.S. troop invasion has not occurred in El Salvador. What is being done?

The dissent paper lists eight categories under the subheading "Strengthening counter-insurgency capabilities of armed forces." They include:

"Increased training. . . .

"Improving military infrastructures. . . .

"Setting up adequate supply lines and stockpiling material in cooperation with regional and extra-hemispheric allies.

"Providing strategic and tactical command advisory assistance.

"Increasing cohesion and coordination among various command structures. . . .

"Seeking to bring under unified command the paramilitary units operating in the country.

"Establishing and/or improving communications and cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.

"Making available US surveillance data pertinent to military developments in El Salvador to the armed forces."

## 'Five or six' advisers

According to the State Department spokesperson I talked with, there are only "five or six U.S. military personnel in El Salvador in addition to the thirty or so guards at the embassy." These five or six people are supposed to coordinate the military aid of trucks and communications equipment Washington admits it is sending.

You get the picture. They make sure the walkie-talkies have batteries and the trucks have the right antifreeze and oil. Maybe they also give sensitivity training in their spare time.

But somebody is lying. Five or six people are not enough to carry out the program described in the dissent paper.

The December 9 *Wall Street Journal* reported from El Salvador, "a group of U.S. military advisers here is helping the government draw up plans to protect this year's harvest from the guerrillas."

Those five or six advisers must be working a lot of overtime.

What about the claim that no helicopters are being sent or pilots trained?

There is other evidence on this. Juan de Onis reported in the November 29 *New York Times* that the U.S. is currently training Salvadoran helicopter pilots.

A November 10 article by Anne Nelson in *Inquiry* magazine reported the Salvadoran military bought eight U.S.-manufactured helicopters last year.

James Cheek, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, participated in a panel discussion on El Salvador that was reported in the December 7 *New York Times*. He tried to explain a "dilemma" the U.S. has in limiting arms sales to El Salvador.

He claims the guerrillas have "rocket-propelled grenades and grenade launchers. . . . You don't buy these in your corner supermarket. The

Salvadoran armed forces have asked for a grenade launcher. The other side has it. Do we tell the junta, well, you can't have it?"

## Middleman supplier

No. What the U.S. government does is either send the weapons anyway, or supply them "in cooperation with regional and extra-hemispheric allies," as the dissent paper explained.

That means weapons are obtained for El Salvador through the equipment of other armies or by U.S. help in organizing arms purchases. Israel, the U.S. cop in the Middle East, has become one of the biggest suppliers of arms in the world. Massive amounts of Israeli weapons were supplied to Somoza before his downfall and they are supplied to the El Salvador army today.

There is also additional information on the success of the U.S. program to coordinate military and paramilitary actions between the three right-wing dictatorships of Central America: El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

In October, Washington helped organize a peace treaty between El Salvador and Honduras to settle remaining disputes from a four-day war between the two countries in 1969. The treaty was signed December 9 in Honduras.

Smoothing the way for the treaty, Salvadoran and Honduran army units began cooperating earlier. Last May, for example, they combined in a joint operation that killed 600 people.

The victims, including many children, were refugees trying to flee the fighting in El Salvador by crossing the Sampul River into Honduras.

## 'Operation Sandwich'

Recent revelations in a Mexican newspaper about joint military plans of the region's rightist regimes flesh out exactly the outline given in the dissent paper.

According to a November 26 dispatch to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* from Honduras, the armies of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have set plans for what they term "Operation Sandwich"—a joint military drive aimed at wiping out the guerrillas in El Salvador.

"Our army is totally committed to supporting the Salvadoran military. All the military and police posts in Honduras have photographs of the guerrilla commanders and have orders to kill them the moment they cross the border," a Honduran officer told the reporter for the Mexican paper. He also said that Guatemalan troops have operated in Honduran territory for a long time.

Another aspect of the U.S. military role in the war in Central America concerns Panama. When I called the State Department, its Panama desk confirmed that the U.S. military bases maintained in Panama under the terms of the Canal Treaty are Panamanian territory. According to the treaty, they cannot be used for military operations in other countries.

But that is exactly what the dissent paper indicates, using very careful language:

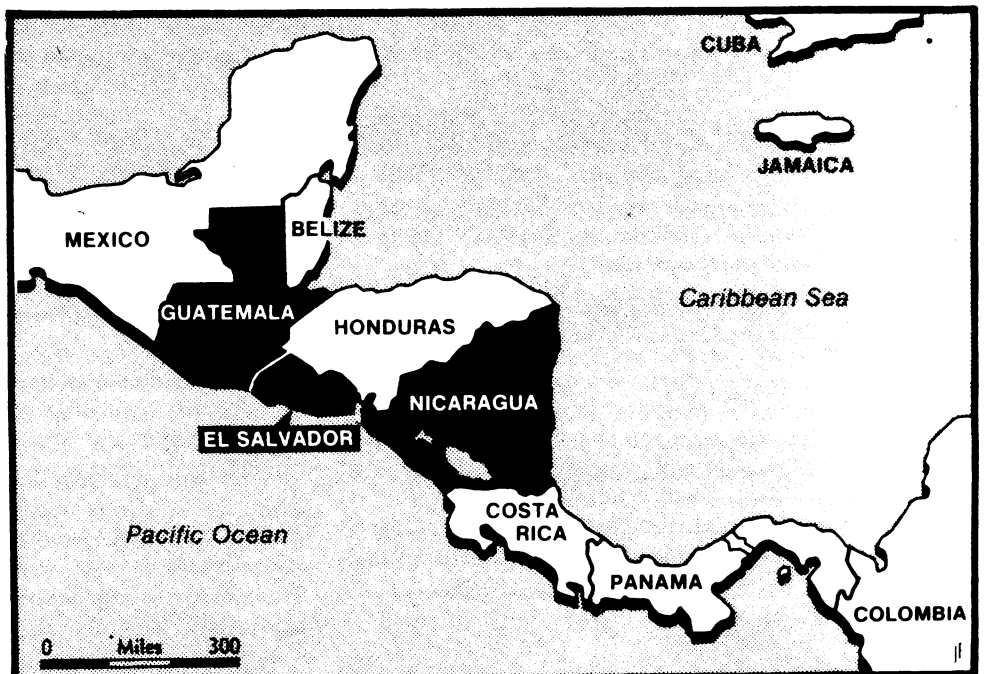
"The Latin American press has carried accusations that DOD [Department of Defense] may be using our facilities in Panama for stockpiling military supplies intended to play a key role in an eventual logistical supply air-lift to Salvadorean armed forces. We have obtained some evidence supporting these allegations."

## Marines 'awaiting orders'

According to the *Excelsior* article, the Honduran military officer also said that a contingent of U.S. Marines from bases in El Salvador was stationed "near the Salvadoran coast" and was "awaiting orders."

The Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador has charged for some time that a U.S. Naval Task Force, including an aircraft carrier, was patrolling in the Pacific near El Salvador.

The picture that emerges is one of Washington preparing to engulf the entire Central American region in a new Vietnam.



Dissent paper: U.S. role includes, 'improving . . . cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.' 'Operation Sandwich,' revealed by a Mexico City newspaper, provides for joint operations by armies of the three countries against guerrillas.



# U.S. Ambassador to Mexico flip-flops on El Salvador

By Aníbal Yáñez

On December 3 U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Julian Nava declared, "It seems that the last assassinations were an action by the junta or the junta's troops."

He was referring to the murder of the six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front November 27.

On December 4 Nava issued a new statement: "The comment I made to Mexican journalists yesterday was based on what I knew as of then through the news media. . . . Eyewitnesses have denied the validity of this information. . . . We have no independent proof that the government of El Salvador had anything to do with the assassinations. . . ."

The Mexico City daily *Uno* más

*Uno* commented on Nava's quick flip flop:

"Rarely had a representative of Washington spoken so objectively about such a thorny issue. . . ."

"Now with the State Department's denials and Ambassador Nava's ambiguous retraction, the world knows that Washington confirms its backing of the crime against the people of El Salvador. From that quarter no significant action can be expected to stay the hand of the executioners."

"The Salvadoran people, surrounded by international solidarity, will be able to paralyze and destroy their enemies. And this game of statements, denials and retractions will remain a rather irrelevant episode."

## ... protests

Continued from page 6

vice-president of the Duluth Central Labor Body, signed a statement demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the government of El Salvador.

The statement, initiated by the Iron Range chapter of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, was also signed by prominent religious figures, political officials including Congressman James Oberstar, and the president of the Iron Range chapter of the National Organization for Women.

In San Antonio, Texas, at the other end of the country from the Iron Range, fifty people participated in a picket line in front of the federal building December 5. A nun and a priest on their way to El Salvador, as well as a number of Palestinian students, joined the protest. The pickets chanted, "No draft, no war, hands off El Salvador."

In Milwaukee 150 people picketed the federal building December 6. This protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador received a lot of publicity.

In Cincinnati 450 attended a memorial meeting December 8 at St. Peter in Chains Church. It was organized by the Cincinnati Central American Task Force. The movie *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* was shown and Maria Rieckelman, a nun who had worked with one of the victims in El Salvador, spoke.

A December 10 article in the *Washington Post* describes the protest activities by U.S. Roman Catholics as "believed to be unmatched by . . . reactions to past issues, including the controversy over abortion."

The article reports that the San Francisco cathedral has a banner reading, "U.S. dollars kill U.S. nuns." Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul-Minneapolis, the new president of the U.S. Catholic Conference, sent telegrams to Carter and Reagan demanding aid be cut off to El Salvador.

The dissent paper predicted that whatever support there might be for U.S. policy in El Salvador would not survive the introduction of troops into that country. The fact is it hasn't survived the first opportunity for the American people to see what is really going on there.

By Greg Cornell

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—A standing room only crowd of 250 jammed a hall near the University of Minnesota December 5 to hear speakers blast the slaying of the four American women as well as the murder of El Salvadorans.

"We demand that the United States get out of El Salvador and we demand that the United States send no troops or arms to El Salvador," said Prof. Ilena Rodríguez to rousing applause. Rodríguez chaired the meeting and is a member of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

State Rep. Phyllis Kahn, an endorser of the rally, told the crowd, "We have to make Reagan understand he's got to stop U.S. military intervention in El Salvador."

State Rep. Lee Greenfield said, "We have to join in mobilizing the majority of Americans to prevent the kind of vile situation that happened in Vietnam."

Sue Abderholden, president of the Twin Cities National Organization for Women, read a short statement denouncing U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Margaret Hastings, speaking for the Twin Cities Stop the Draft Committee, said "We urge you to help the people of El Salvador by opposing the draft."

Waubun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt) a representative of the Council of Internal Affairs of the American Indian Movement, linked the suppression of Indians in Central America to the "holocaust against Indians" in the United States.

Prof. Edward Baker, speaking for the El Salvador Solidarity Committee, said the U.S. "invented the government in El Salvador" in response to the same U.S. personnel involved in the Phoenix "agrarian reform" in Vietnam, which was a cover for the mass murder of Vietnamese, now are organizing a similar program in El Salvador.

## ... youth

Continued from page 6

ities. It has clearly shown that it is not prepared to accept equality in the military capabilities of the world powers.

Imperialism is more worried by national liberation struggles than by the danger of the massive annihilation of humanity.

We feel that youth and students in the United States have the historic mission of organizing a broad fight against imperialism in their own country. If they fulfill this historic task it will be of tremendous help to all the peoples of the world, to all of humanity.

We want to stress this point. We are aware that tuition at the universities has been increased. This is an example of how they are trying to force the American workers to pay the cost of the arms race, to shift the burden onto the backs of U.S. working families.

We believe that students can play a major role in demanding that education costs be lowered and that rather than spending money on weapons to destroy humanity, it should be spent for science, education, nutrition, medicine, and for jobs for the millions of North Americans who now are seeing their purchasing power cut by the inflation rate that imperialism itself has created in the United States.

## Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



### Women's rights in Nicaragua

Theresa Delgadillo reports that the Milwaukee Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy held a meeting November 21. Nearly 125 people viewed *Women in Arms*, a film about the role of women in the revolution and reconstruction in Nicaragua.

Sue Burke, coordinator of the Milwaukee chapter of the National Organization for Women, was among several speakers addressing the event. Burke told the audience that women in Nicaragua are better off than their U.S. sisters because they have equal rights guaranteed in their constitution and provisions for maternity benefits.

A speaker from El Salvador explained the danger of her country becoming a new Vietnam. She urged no U.S. intervention.

Several hundred dollars was raised for ongoing Nicaraguan solidarity activities.

### Information from NACLA

The North American Congress on Latin America publishes a large amount of excellent material in its bi-monthly magazine *NACLA Report on the Americas*. A one-year subscription is available for \$13.

Six back issues on Nicaragua, Guatemala, Panama, and El Salvador will be of particular interest to readers of this column. NACLA is making them available for \$12.50.

For subscriptions to *NACLA Report*, write to NACLA, 151 West Nineteenth Street, Ninth Floor, New York, New York 10011.

### New FDCR publication from Guatemala

We recently received the first issue of *Frente*, the monthly organ of the Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR).

The twelve-page newspaper is published in Costa Rica and contains news about the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala.

An interesting feature in the first issue reports revelations by Elías Barahona, a journalist and a member of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor. Barahona infiltrated the Guatemalan government and became press director for the Ministry of the Interior. He recently went to Panama and exposed the direct links between the government and right-wing terrorist groups.

In addition, *Frente* includes a number of articles on the union movement by the National Committee of Trade Union Unity, the largest working-class organization in Guatemala.

To receive *Frente*, write to: Reproducción de la Comisión Externa, FDCR, Apartado 10081, San José, Costa Rica.

### Northeast conference on Central America

The Northeast Regional Conference on El Salvador and Central America drew nearly 200 participants to Boston University November 22.

Sponsored by the Boston University Free School and the Coordinating Committee for Solidarity with El Salvador, the event featured speakers from Nicaragua and El Salvador.

### Indiana U. El Salvador solidarity meeting

Seventy-five people attended a showing of the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* at Indiana University in Bloomington November 21 sponsored by the Committee for Democracy in Latin America. The film was preceded by a brief talk by a Salvadoran member of the Chicago Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The film was also shown to a meeting of the Iranian Student Association. Contributions totaling \$125 were raised during both meetings.

### ... and in Seattle

Nearly 200 people turned out November 14 to view the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* and hear Carlos Galvan of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (Popular Revolutionary Block) explain the political situation in El Salvador. The gathering was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People and the Iranian Student Association.

On November 18, Sylvia Reyes, representative of the Nicaraguan Women's Association, addressed a meeting of 200 people at the University of Washington campus. Reyes's talk focused on how the revolutionary government is approaching and achieving women's rights in Nicaragua. The film *Women in Arms* was also shown.

—Osborne Hart

Please send contributions on activities in your area to: Osborne Hart, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



# ... crackdown on human rights in Haiti

Continued from back page

Cayo Lobos have disappeared, among them the leaders of the group.

"The political situation in Haiti proves that these people fled the regime, and proves that all of them are political refugees."

Since Cayo Lobos, Grand-Pierre said, the government has threatened to kill anyone it finds trying to leave the country.

The Haitian community in Miami is calling for freedom for all political prisoners and the resignation of Duvalier.

"We need an international campaign to stop all aid to Duvalier," Grand-Pierre told the *Militant*. "All the aid money goes to build houses and facilities for government officials and to increase repression."

"After 1971 there was a big influx of U.S. investments and businesses to increase the viability and stability of the regime."

"Now the U.S. has to protect its investments. The U.S. is responsible for the situation, and the U.S. government must say what its position is."

## Background to latest wave of arrests

A news release sent out December 2 by the New York-based Friends of Haiti provides background on the recent wave of arrests in Haiti. Excerpts appear below.

"The first rumblings of the present repression came in August during labor difficulties at the Haitian American Sugar Company (HASCO), the largest sugar producer in Haiti. Ten of the leaders of the HASCO workers' union were systematically harassed, arrested, and then imprisoned, and have not yet been released or even charged."

"Then in September, strikes for better conditions and pay at the National Brewery and at the Heinz apparel factory were met with strong government retaliation."

"The strikes were declared illegal since they did not conform with the legal guidelines set down in the Francois Duvalier Labor Codes."

Many workers were fired and strike-breakers were sent in."

At the same time, the press release notes the arrest of several prominent journalists and the arrest October 13 of Sylvio Claude, president of the Haitian Christian Democratic Party (PDCH) along with forty party supporters.

Claude was charged with "subversion of the government" for publishing in the PDCH paper *La Conviction* a piece of artwork that implied that Jean-Claude Duvalier was a vanishing breed of dictator who would and should be overthrown."

A PDCH-sponsored march and rally in support of Sylvio Claude was cancelled at the last minute when secret police with firearms and clubs lined the march route hours before its start.

"During this same period, the Du-

valier regime was taking a similar offensive on Haitian refugees fleeing to the U.S. On October 27, Army soldiers opened fire on a packed refugee boat leaving the north-coast city of Cap-Haitien, killing nineteen."

Meanwhile, the Haitians were stranded and starving to death on Cayo Lobos.

Also on October 27, "Haitian government officials met with a high-level State Department delegation headed by Frank Loy, director of the Bureau of Refugee Programs, and by Mike Finley, deputy assistant Secretary of State."

"In the meeting, which was the first of several to take place, the State Department delegation reportedly offered the Duvalier regime greatly increased amounts of U.S. 'assistance' to stem the growing tide of refugees from Haiti."

## Protesters score repression, greet Haitian exiles

By Suzanne Haig

NEW YORK—Chants of "Hey, hey, USA—stop supporting Duvalier!" rang out in Brooklyn December 6 as demonstrators marched down Eastern Parkway to protest repression in Haiti.

At the high point of the march nearly 1,000 people, overwhelmingly Haitians, participated, according to *Militant* reporter Susan Wald.

Signs carried were in English, French, Creole, and Spanish, as were the chants, which included: "We demand democratic rights in Haiti," "Free all political prisoners," and "Down with Duvalier."

A Haitian women's group carried a banner reading "Free Marie-France," referring to the daughter of Sylvio Claude, president of the Haitian Christian Democratic Party, who is in prison.

Marie-France, herself politically active, was recently arrested along with her two children.

Many marchers carried Haitian flags and lit candles as dusk approached. Gregoire Eugene, leader of the Haitian Social Christian Party and recently exiled, was one of the speakers at the rally.

The action was sponsored by a number of Haitian organizations including: Ad Hoc Committee Against Repression in Haiti, Asso-



Militant/Suzanne Haig

One hundred supporters came to press conference for six newly-arrived Haitian exiles.

ciation des Ecrivains Haïtiens à l'étranger, Mouvement Haïtien de Libération, Organisation Révolutionnaire 18 Mai, and others.

Six Haitians, forced to leave their country after a wave of arrests there last month, told of their ordeal and gave some reasons for the latest crackdown at a press conference in New York December 4 sponsored by the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.

The Haitians included Gregoire Eugene, leader of the Social Christian Party; Pierre Clitandre, editor, and Jean-Robert Herard, political editor of *Le Petit Samedi Soir*; Marc

Garcia, station director of Radio Metropole; Michele Montas, commentator for Radio-Haiti Inter; and Jean Jacques Honorat, lawyer and economist.

Nearly 100 people from the large Haitian community in Brooklyn were in the audience to show solidarity.

Pierre Clitandre pointed to the role of the United States. "American big business in Haiti is for the exile of the independent journalists. The new ambassador from the States has just declared in Miami that everything is well in Haiti."

Michele Montas said of the ar-

rests, "They thought the international climate was favorable to this sort of thing, the arrival of Ronald Reagan."

Clitandre pointed to the attempt by Haitian dictator Duvalier to silence opposition. "Our work," he said, speaking of the role of the independent press, "is to publicize the protests of the nation's people. The government wants to break the way in which the people express themselves."

Montas added that the Bahamas government is starting to send back 35,000 Haitians who had fled there. "They want this to happen without any comment—without any opposition being raised."

She also mentioned the annual contract that the Duvalier regime is now negotiating with the Dominican Republic to supply workers to cut sugar cane.

Montas said, "It is our position that the Dominican contract is detrimental to Haitian workers. The government is selling Haitian workers for half-price."

Gregoire Eugene also pointed to the coming meeting of the Haitian government with the International Monetary Fund as another reason for the crackdown.

Duvalier wants to show them that he has things under control.

## ... Burke

Continued from back page

issue devoted to Grenada, and he spoke to a meeting of the San Francisco Afro American Historical Society.

More than \$2,500 was raised to support the Grenadian literacy drive and for travel expenses. Some of the funds were raised at a November 30 reception sponsored by the East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women, attorney Howard Moore, a number of prominent political figures, and the presidents of six local teachers unions.

Alameda (County) Federation of Teachers President Gretchen Mackler, who was one of the coordinators of the tour, remarked on the "wonderful response especially from Black and Latino youth and working people in general. I think it demonstrates that the Grenadian revolution inspires people who are looking for answers to some of our problems here."

Indeed, at one of Burke's high school meetings, a student asked that more Grenadians visit this country "to teach us to do what you have done."

## Black leaders welcome Burke to K.C.

By Martha Pettit

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—More than 60 people packed into Operation PUSH headquarters on November 16 to hear Joseph Kanute Burke, Consul General from Grenada, describe the gains of the Grenadian revolution.

"What we had in Grenada was a big revolution in a small country," Burke began. "The best example of what is happening in Grenada can be seen on the faces of our people."

"Grenada is an example that you cannot wait for your oppressors to free you," he said. "You have to stand up and claim what is rightfully yours."

Burke explained Grenada's need for material aid, and said, "We will accept aid from any country (with the possible exception of South Africa and Chile), with one condition: there must be no strings attached to that aid. We are poor but proud."



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Burke told gains of Grenada's literacy campaign. Above, Grenadian schoolchildren.

He cited examples of aid from Panama, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the OAS, but not from the U.S. directly.

"We are young," Burke declared, "but we have studied revolution. We will not repeat the mistakes of Alende, Manley, etc."

The meeting was sponsored by Operation PUSH, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, the

Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

At a news conference prior to the meeting Black city councilman Emanuel Cleaver presented Burke with a key to the city, "which," he said, "will not open anything."

Burke replied, "This key may not open anything, but if I could remain in Kansas City, I would be sure to open many doors with it. Thank you."



## 'New era of democracy'?

# Behind 'Gang of Four' show-trial in Peking

By David Frankel

On November 20 the former leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) most closely associated—aside from Mao Zedong himself—with Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" went on trial in Peking.

The prime defendants are the so-called Gang of Four, headed by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing. The other members of the Gang of Four are Zhang Chunqiao, formerly Shanghai party boss and member of the Standing Committee of the CCP's Politburo; Yao Wen-yuan, who was in charge of all the media in China during the Cultural Revolution; and Wang Hongwen, a former Shanghai factory guard who distinguished himself as a strike-breaker during the Cultural Revolution, was selected as a "trade union leader," and was later elevated by Mao to deputy chairman of the CCP.

Also facing charges is Chen Boda, Mao's political secretary and a leading figure during the Cultural Revolution. Chen and five former top military officers have been lumped together as "the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique" and linked to former Defense Minister Lin Biao.

### Crimes of defendants

Nothing quite like this trial has ever taken place in any Stalinized workers state.

Unlike the infamous show trials staged under Stalin, the defendants in Peking really are guilty of many of the "towering crimes" they are charged with, and everybody in China knows it.

If anything, the claim that the defendants were responsible for the persecution of more than 700,000 people and the death of some 34,000 understates the real figures.

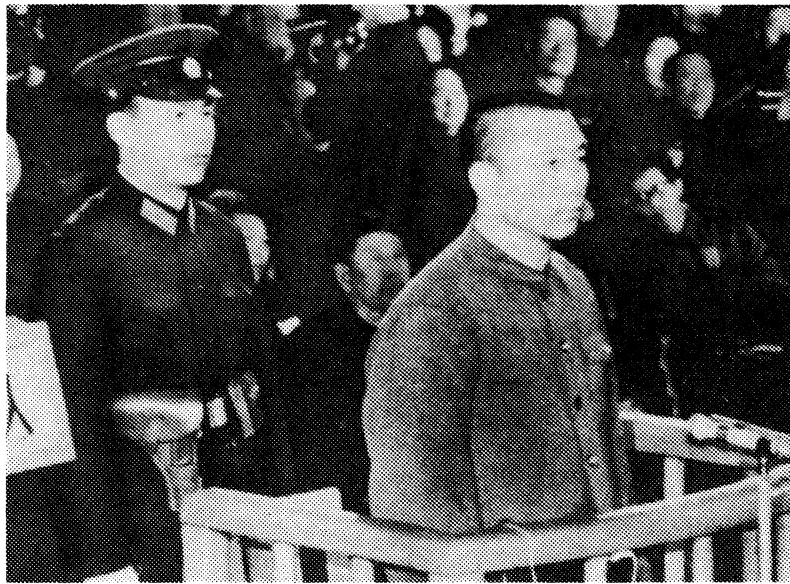
One of the demands voiced by the movement for democratic rights in China has been for an open trial of the Gang of Four.

During the period when Democracy Wall in Peking served as an open forum, wall posters asked what good would the regime's promise of due process be if it was not adhered to in political cases. The case of the Gang of Four was seen as a test.

Thus, the CCP newspaper *People's Daily* sought to reassure the Chinese people November 20, saying "China has now entered a new era of democracy and enforcement of the law."

Selected portions of the trial have been broadcast on Chinese television, newspapers have devoted much of their space to it, and 880 carefully screened "representatives of the masses" from all over China have been selected as an audience. In this way, the regime has sought to give the appearance of an open trial while guarding against any embarrassing revelations.

It is as if mass pressure in the Soviet



Union following the death of Stalin had forced Nikita Khrushchev to place some factional opponents such as secret police chief Lavrenty Beria on trial for the crimes of the Stalin era, instead of quietly shooting him.

### Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'

Mao originally launched the Cultural Revolution in April 1966 as a means of wresting control of the CCP from his opponents within the party.

While Mao used antibureaucratic demagoguery to mobilize millions of youth as a battering ram against his factional opponents, the conflict within the CCP was between two wings of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

When Mao had gained control of the CCP he turned against the youth his faction had used, repressing the Red Guard Groups and exiling huge numbers to remote areas of the countryside.

But Mao's economic policies proved disastrous. This, and his policy of all-pervasive repression, brought the country to the brink of civil war. After his death his chief opponents, led by CCP Vice-chairman Deng Xiaoping, took over the party and reversed the domestic policies imposed by Mao.

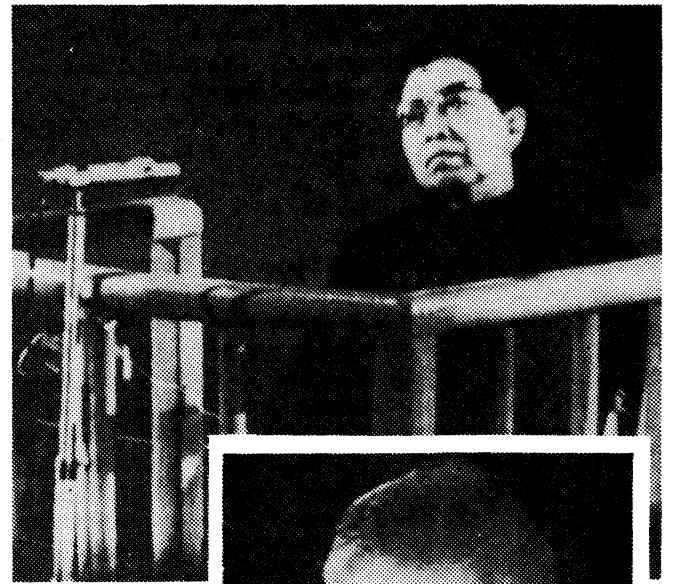
Although Deng and other top CCP leaders were subjected to repression during the Cultural Revolution, they themselves were responsible for arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, and a vast network of prison camps, during the 1950s. The Stalinist regime in China is incapable of carrying out a fair or honest examination of its own past.

Furthermore, the regime is unwilling to admit Mao's responsibility for the crimes committed during the Cultural Revolution, since opening up Mao's role to criticism would inevitably lead to questions about the entire history of the CCP.

### Role of Lin Biao group

Putting just the Gang of Four on trial would have made it extremely difficult for the regime to draw a line

Clockwise from left, defendants Wang Hongwen, Jiang Qing, and Wu Faxian. Wang and Jiang are two of so-called Gang of Four. Wu is former air force chief accused of plotting with Lin Biao.



between Mao and his chief lieutenants. Therefore, Deng ordered Chen Boda and Lin Biao's five military subordinates—some of whom had been presumed dead—brought out of prison and placed on trial as well.

Lin Biao's support had been crucial for Mao during the Cultural Revolution. The Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969 adopted a new party constitution that declared:

"Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

But Lin's alliance with Mao fell apart around a year after the 1969 Congress. The charges against Lin and his "counterrevolutionary clique" in the current trial are the same as those made by the Tenth Party Congress held in August 1973.

At that time Lin was labeled a "bourgeois careerist" and "conspirator" who "launched [a] coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao."

Lin himself was killed while trying to flee China in 1971, while Jiang Qing and her group continued to enjoy Mao's protection until his death in 1976.

However, by accusing the Gang of Four of complicity in Lin's alleged 1971 plot to assassinate Mao, the regime was able to portray them as an anti-Mao faction.

A few days before the opening of the trial, but after the charges against the defendants had already been published in the Chinese press, the *Liberation Army Daily* tried to establish the connection between Jiang and Lin by claiming that Jiang took a flattering photograph of Lin in the summer of 1971. Only three months later, Lin "went out of his way" to send her some watermelons.

"These facts show," the newspaper said, "how closely they colluded with each other."

### Selective repression

The show-trial in Peking will hardly satisfy the layer of Chinese youth who went through the experience of the Cultural Revolution and began to draw general political conclusions about the character of the regime and the need for institutionalized forms through which the masses of working people could exercise control over the government and ensure their democratic rights.

Deng is counting on the widespread

hatred of those responsible for the Cultural Revolution to brush aside any objections about the character of the trial. The Chinese press has made much of the fact that the defendants have received far better treatment than they meted out to their victims.

While junking Mao's system of rigid ideological control and extreme totalitarianism, and attempting to regain the confidence of the masses, the Deng leadership has carried out a campaign of selective repression. It aims to separate the masses from the elements raising demands for workers' democracy and to crush the latter.

In keeping with this project, it has closed down Democracy Wall, carried out a series of frame-ups against activists in the movement for democratic rights, and moved to eliminate the section in the Chinese constitution guaranteeing the right of the people to put up wall posters.

Thus, the "era of democracy" promised by the *People's Daily* exists only insofar as the Chinese workers and peasants do not try to make use of their newly proclaimed rights.

### Frame-up of Wei

Nor is this an abstract question for the Chinese masses. In October 1979 Wei Jingsheng, an activist in the anti-bureaucratic movement, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on frame-up charges of "counterrevolutionary agitation" and "supplying a foreigner with Chinese military intelligence."

Wei's real crime in the eyes of the bureaucracy was his opposition to the invasion of Vietnam.

Because of the Peking regime's proimperialist foreign policy, the capitalist media has taken a rather understanding tone toward the current show-trial.

An editorial in the November 30 *New York Times* even declared: "There is a symmetry about recent events in Poland and China. . . . Though they dare not admit it, the Chinese from on high and the Poles from below are destroying the central ethic of Communist doctrine—the idea that the keepers of party ideology shall reign supreme."

In reality, what the CCP leadership is attempting to do is to prevent precisely the kind of political revolution that is beginning to unfold in Poland. Along with imperialist technology, Deng has sought to import into China more sophisticated methods of controlling the masses.

However, the very fact that Deng has been forced to hold a public trial of his opponents within the bureaucracy is an indication of the immense pressures bearing down on his regime.

From Intercontinental Press

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# Miners win battle against scab coal

By Vivian Sahner

Coal miners in United Mine Workers District 23 have won their battle to keep the Tennessee Valley Authority from using non-union coal at its Paradise Steam Plant in Drakesboro, Kentucky.

The TVA attempted two deliveries of the non-union coal before U.S. District Judge James Gordon ordered them to stop on December 8.

A picket line was set up by the miners outside the steam plant on December 1 when the first deliveries of the non-union coal were scheduled.

UMW officials have pointed out that many of their members had been laid off since the TVA signed contracts last July with six small non-union companies.

Jerry Grubbs, a twenty-three-year-old UMW construction worker, told the *Courier Journal* on December 8, "There had to be a place to draw the line, this is it."

The article describes how the miners, their families, and friends gathered outside the plant determined to stop the TVA's union-busting move.

One picketer, Herschell Knight, told the *Courier*, "Unions built this town."

Truman Hawkins, a retired miner, agreed, "the UMW is our bread and butter."

School children who passed the picket line shouted out the windows, "Union town!"

The TVA tried to sneak the first shipment late at night on December 1. Picketers blocked the trucks and only 737 of 2,000 tons were delivered.

Two miners were arrested for this action.

The next night TVA tried again, but the miners had a picket line of more than 500 to stop the trucks.

Several state police cruisers were damaged.

The police arrested thirty-four of the picketers.

Dave Gunn, a union trucker, told the *Courier Journal* that the state police were out to get the miners.

"We are real upset with them," he said. "We don't like violence, but the police are harassing the hell out of us."

Tommy Gaston, president of UMWA District 23, said the "UMW welcomed the announcement" by TVA that it would stop delivery of the non-union coal at the orders of Judge Gordon.

Gordon had warned the TVA against prompting any further union antagonism.

Louis Quin, a spokesperson for TVA, acknowledged, "The agreement has opened up a can of worms."

# Baltimore hospital workers fight takeback demands

By John Holloway

BALTIMORE—Hospital workers here are in a bitter battle to defend their right to a union.

Local 1199E, representing 1,500 dietary, maintenance, housekeeping, and nursing aid workers, struck Johns Hopkins hospital on December 1.

They were joined the next day by 500 union members at Sinai Hospital.

Fifteen hundred strikers and supporters rallied at Hopkins on Saturday, December 6, followed by 500 at Sinai on Sunday.

Chanting "Hey, Hey, What do you say—1199 is here to stay" and "Eight percent won't pay the rent," the demonstrators ringed the hospitals with militant picketlines. The overwhelming majority were Blacks; women predominated.

The crowd was swelled by unionists from throughout the city including steelworkers, machinists, Teamsters, teachers, and others.

Local 1199E brought buses from Washington and Philadelphia as well as from other 1199-organized hospitals in Baltimore.

At a mass union meeting earlier in the week, workers voted to postpone strike deadlines at these four hospitals. They were encouraged to join the picketing at Hopkins and Sinai and to contribute to the strike fund.

The key issue is the hospitals' demand to reduce their contributions to the union's national medical benefit fund. These medical institutions are trying to deny adequate health care for their own employees.

The hospitals also propose to eliminate cost-of-living adjustments. They offer only an 8 percent wage increase. 1199E members currently earn about five dollars an hour.

Workers believe that these takeback proposals were aimed to force them out on strike and destroy their union.

Their picket signs read: "Forward—No takebacks."

Their main chant is simply: "CONTRACT!"

Tom Bradley, president of the Maryland-D.C. AFL-CIO,

told Saturday's crowd, "This is union busting pure and simple . . . which is not just an attack on workers here but a threat to the labor movement across the country."

He pledged the support of the entire union movement, "Whatever it takes, as long as it takes."

Spirits on the picket line have been high. A court injunction limiting pickets was slapped on the union after several police-provoked incidents led to twenty-three arrests.

However, the injunction was unenforceable in the face of the massive weekend turnout.

One young Black maintenance worker from Hopkins

told the *Militant*: "I've worked for them for six years and all I'm making is \$4.90 an hour."

"Yeah, I've got a family and Christmas is coming and it would be nice to have more money. It's cold out here and it's going to get worse, and people don't like being out now. But we all knew what time of year it was when we voted to go out."

"I've got two kids at home and I want a better life for them. So I see this strike and what the union is doing as more important than just me or this Christmas."

"I'll stay out until next Christmas or the next if we have to to win our contract."



Angry hospital workers were joined by steelworkers, machinists, Teamsters, teachers at rally of 1,500 in Baltimore December 6.

# Utah Safeway tries to bust UFCW union

By Dave Hurst and Stormy Mullendore

SALT LAKE CITY—More than 450 clerks and meatcutters went on strike November 12 against Safeway stores in Salt Lake, Davis, and Toole Counties. November 25 the strike spread to Carbon County.

The strikers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 537.

The contract with two other supermarket chains, Smith's and Albertson's, expired at the same time. But the union is on strike only against Safeway. Safeway is a notorious anti-union company; it is the largest supermarket chain in the country.

The *Militant* interviewed Ralph Moses, president of the striking local. He explained

that Safeway stonewalled in negotiations for three weeks, then offered an inferior contract at the last minute.

Safeway workers in Utah already make 60 cents to \$3.00 an hour less than in other states for the same work.

Moses, forty-five years old, has been an active member of Local 537 for twenty-five years, "and in all this time I've never seen such a document [Safeway's contract offer]. It's designed to deceive the people. It's immoral. The bottom line is union busting."

Union pickets report that business is down 30 to 50 percent at most Safeway stores. The strongest support is in neighborhoods around Kennecott's giant Bingham Canyon copper mine, where the miners were on strike last summer.

# Hershey workers vote to end strike

By Noel Green

HERSHEY, Pa.—Striking workers at Hershey Chocolate Company voted at a mass meeting November 21 to accept the latest company offer. The new contract provides little more than the company offered three weeks ago.

The pay rise that was accepted is a nickel an hour higher than the earlier offer. There was a small improvement in dental benefits.

The contract provides no cost-of-living adjustments for the first eighteen months of the three-year contract.

Attorney for Chocolate Workers Local 464, Bernard Katz,

brought the "nickel insult" proposal to the strikers. He supported it as "the best that could be brought back."

Katz warned that the company would proceed with court suits against the union if the contract were rejected. He also warned that the company would hire scabs to break the strike.

The blackmail threats compounded workers' fears of a long, poor winter. They felt they could not rely on their union officials for a fighting leadership.

Understandably, the "lose money later" option looked more bearable in the situation.

# Anti-union assault against Boston transit workers

By Michael Raskin

BOSTON—After forcing a twenty-four hour shutdown, the Massachusetts legislature passed a funding bill December 7 that will shift more of the burden for the Boston transportation system onto the backs of transit workers and the 250,000 daily riders.

The bill attacks workers of the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA). It restricts their unions' rights to negotiate over so-called inherent management rights.

These include distributing overtime, contracting out work to non-union firms, and hiring part-time workers.

Cost-of-living escalators are outlawed. Overtime earnings will not count toward pensions.

The workforce—and safety—will be whittled down by ending the requirement of having

one transit worker for every two cars. Hiring is frozen.

In addition there will be a 4 percent limit on increased appropriations for the MBTA. This is the excuse for eliminating up to 20 percent of the bus and subway runs, which are already overcrowded.

The anti-union, antirider assault comes a year after it became known the MBTA was overspending its budget. The legislature refused additional funding and MBTA management carried out a campaign to blame the workers for the deteriorating conditions.

The basic fare was doubled from twenty-five cents to fifty cents.

"They're setting the labor movement back fifty years in this state," said John Gallahue, President of Boston Car-men's Union Local 589, which

represents over 4,000 MBTA workers.

"The bill kicks the unions in the head, but leaves the deficit still growing, the property taxpayers still suffering, and sets the stage for another crisis."

The move against MBTA is part of an assault against workers here after the passage of Proposition 2½ last month. Under its provisions, business will receive millions in tax breaks, social services are reduced, and workers are forced to pay higher taxes to maintain what's left.

School desegregation in Boston is also threatened by the spending cuts.

The transit workers contract expires December 31. Under the gun of this new antilabor law, a major battle is shaping up for the union movement in Massachusetts.



## By Phil McCann

The trucking industry is undergoing a general reorganization. Partly this is the outcome of government deregulation, which ostensibly aims to foster competition and reduce freight rates. The first results, however, are renewed attacks on working conditions by major trucking firms and the elimination of some companies.

In the shifting relationship of forces within the industry, the Teamsters union is caught in a pincers movement from which the entrenched union officialdom has no escape route.

Early last September the union's National Freight Negotiating Committee met in Chicago with big trucking firms, led by Trucking Management, Inc. (TMI). The employers wanted four major concessions from the union:

- 1) reduction or deferral of the forty-nine-cent-per-hour cost-of-living raise that fell due October 1;
- 2) elimination of certain pick-up and delivery jobs;
- 3) reduction in the percentage of freight revenue paid to owner-operators; and
- 4) flexible workweek and starting time to replace the normal Monday through Friday work schedule.

These changes would require reopening and renegotiating the eighteen-month-old National Master Freight Agreement, which expires in 1982.

After hearing the employer proposals to scrap the agreement, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons wrote on September 12 to the officers of all union

by "elimination of certain pick-up and delivery jobs"? Does this involve the line drivers making drops and pick-ups on terminal ends of their runs? Are more "special commodities" exceptions to the union contract in the works?

No mention is made by top union officials or Teamster publications about "book off" for line drivers, the reduction of rates paid to owner-operators, and abatement of the demand for air conditioned cabs. All these givebacks are demanded by the trucking firms.

The union now claims 240,000 members under the National Master Freight Agreement. Previous reports listed 300,000. This records a 20 percent reduction in the work force. How did this come about?

### Growth of nonunion carriers

Some old-line union-organized firms such as Wilson and Johnson have gone out of business via bankruptcy, while nonunion carriers such as Overnite and Viking are expanding. The Teamsters recently lost an election to represent the Overnite drivers. No organizing success has been reported on Viking, the large and growing California intrastate carrier.

There has also been an alarming growth of owner-operators and other truckers who are not covered by the union contracts and have no protection. This competition undercuts the conditions of union drivers and eliminates many union jobs.

The union has no program to stop the erosion of the National Master Freight Agreement via the "leased driver" practice, a scheme by some of the

hand as they have today.

It began with the "granting of relief" in the form of riders (local contract supplements) watering down the standards of the National Master Freight Agreement. These were given to various carriers in different segments of the industry and geographical districts. They undermine the principle of a master agreement, which imposes uniform working conditions and standard wages.

### First area contract

This practice began to change the character of the union from what it was when the first area agreement was signed in 1938.

"Granting riders and relief" to local bosses, the union has begun reverting to a kind of baronial empire like in the old craft-union days under IBT President Daniel Tobin, before the 1934 Minneapolis strikes and the organizing of over-the-road drivers by the Minneapolis Teamster movement, which was led by Farrell Dobbs and other revolutionary socialists.

The Minneapolis Teamsters gave the union its first industrial character with the 1934 strikes in that city. This principle was extended with the signing of the first area agreement in August 1938.

Roy Williams, now an IBT vice-president and Fitzsimmons's designated successor as president, was a Local 41 business agent in Kansas City in the late 1930s. He was one of the small-time local officers and business agents who opposed industrial unionism and the area contract idea. They wanted "freedom" to deal with local firms on their own terms. In practice this meant undermining the general conditions of the area contract.

Williams has never changed in this respect.

When Fitzsimmons became IBT president in 1967, he inherited the National Master Freight Agreement from his predecessor, Jimmy Hoffa. Hoffa had not been part of the original area committee in the Midwest but he understood and supported the principle of the master contract idea, and he later expanded its scope with the first NMFA in 1964.

Fitzsimmons, for his part, allowed the practice of local and area "sweetheart" deals and "riders." It has grown to the point that, according to *Forbes*, an employer magazine, "right now 80% of Teamster truckers in New York and New Jersey are receiving pay and benefits below the master contract" (October 27).

Fitzsimmons tries to hide this pernicious and pervasive practice by writing letters to the locals urging that they rigorously enforce unexempted sections of the contract, without mentioning the giveaways.

### Horse-and-buggy days

The Teamster bureaucracy's present-day practice saps the power of the union. It is a carryover from the old horse-and-buggy days, and if pursued much longer will reduce the union to a relic of those times.

There were always elements in the old IBT who feared the emergence of the area contract principle because it endangered their little local setups. During the negotiation and signing of the first area contract in 1938 a group of local officers and business agents (Roy Williams among them) secretly opposed it, but were unable at that time to sabotage and destroy it.

Their attempt and how it was thwarted is explained in detail by Farrell Dobbs, the chief union strategist and negotiator, in his book *Teamster Power* (pages 219-221). For those who want to understand what is happening in the Teamster union today it is helpful to read this and the three other books by Dobbs on the Minneapolis Teamster movement.

These books point the way out of the trap that Fitzsimmons and other top union officials have helped prepare for the men and women who are now working in the trucking industry. They will need to organize to fight their way out of that trap in the same way the Minneapolis Teamsters organized in 1934—that is, with a clear understanding of the economic and political forces that bind them and their union.

## Further reading

### By Farrell Dobbs

**Teamster Rebellion** 192 pp., paper \$4.45  
**Teamster Power** 256 pp., paper \$4.95  
**Teamster Politics** 256 pp., paper \$4.95  
**Teamster Bureaucracy** 256 pp., paper \$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling; \$1.00 if order of more than \$5.

# Teamsters under fire

## Trucking bosses out to wreck nat'l contract



locals under the National Master Freight Agreement. He said that "the terms and conditions of the current agreement are to be complied with in all regards.

"Specifically, the COLA increases on the hourly and mileage rates due on October 1, 1980, must be paid on time as called for in the agreement."

The concluding sentences were more revealing of Fitzsimmons's future plans. He said that "in recognition of the depressed condition of the economy, which has caused problems in this industry and loss of jobs for our members," union negotiators are continuing to "review the problem."

Fitzsimmons implied that concessions will be made to the employers. "At that time," his letter said, "we will want you, as officers, to consider this matter."

Many truck drivers are already considering "this matter." Especially those who have been laid off. Union officials are careful not to tell the ranks the full scope of the employers' giveback demands. But the drivers are aware of them because many companies have already obtained changes in the rules bit by bit.

TMI, the owners' association, now hopes to speed up the process and get the union to authorize wholesale contract changes.

### More giveback demands

These changes will really arouse the ranks, far more so than tampering with the forty-nine-cent COLA raise.

The rotating workweek and optional starting time for pick-up and delivery drivers will mean the elimination of overtime for early-morning, late-night, and weekend deliveries. And what is meant

big carriers to dodge insurance payments, truck maintenance costs, and other overhead business expenses—frequently eliminating drivers with long seniority.

Another industry innovation with deregulation is enlargement of the scope and authority of contract carriers (those hauling under contract for specified companies) and exempt commodities carriers (unprocessed food is a major example of exempt commodities).

These carriers are given new rights on back-hauls. This is supposed to eliminate dead-head runs by allowing them to pick up certain type loads of general cargo on their return trips. It will open the way for cut-throat competition, random routes, and an influx of new nonunion operators.

### Union weakened

None of this has escaped the attention of the Teamster union membership, because they are being ground up in this new process, even though not all are yet directly and personally affected. But there are plenty of gripes by road drivers who are forced to drive sixty hours in seven days, and sometimes seventy hours in eight days, under the most gruelling conditions.

The union says little if anything about these intolerable conditions, and does nothing to correct them. The union officials pretend that this is all a natural part of "life on the road."

But there is also death on the road. Nearly 1,000 drivers were killed in road accidents last year. Union officials do next to nothing to enforce safety rules, pretending it is not their job. "Leave it to [Teamster Safety Director R.V.] Durham," they say.

How did the Teamsters union lose control over these long-haul jobs to the extent that it has? The present condition did not occur overnight. It took several years for the trucking firms to get the upper

*Phil McCann is a former road driver, now retired.*

# Cleveland rally honors Silkwood

By Alicia Merel

CLEVELAND—A Safe Energy Rally was held at the International Ladies Garment Workers Union hall here November 16 to commemorate Karen Silkwood.

Silkwood is the union activist who was killed in 1974 while seeking to document unsafe working conditions at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant.

The rally here brought together unionists, feminists, and antinuclear activists. They were urged to unite against the nuclear danger by Dorothea Strauss of the Cleveland Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The keynote speaker was Jane Lee from the Three Mile Island area.

Charles Grimm, international coordinator for United Mine Workers District 6, told the rally: "Coal is our immediate way out of our current energy woes. This country can get along very well without nuclear power to make electricity."

Coal can be burned safely and cleanly, he said, through such technological advances as coal washing, electrostatic precipitators, and improved scrubbers.

Refuting the claim that nuclear power is necessary as a



CHARLES GRIMM

cheap energy source, he said that "more stringent safety requirements could greatly raise the cost of nuclear power."

The real cost cannot be known, he said, until the cost of safe waste disposal is established.

Gail Bateson, occupational health specialist with the International Chemical Workers Union, spoke on the need to expose the many hazardous chemicals and conditions that workers are subjected to daily.

The Safe Energy Rally was covered by all three network TV stations and by the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

# Toledo: OCAW, NOW sponsor event

By Peter Archer and Tommye Wiese

TOLEDO—The mysterious death of Karen Silkwood is still very much on the minds of members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union as well as activists in the antinuclear power movement.

A meeting was held in her memory here November 15, sponsored by OCAW Local 7-346, the Toledo Coalition for Safe Energy, and the Toledo Chapter of the National Organization for Women.

At the time of her death in 1974, Silkwood was gathering documentation proving that Kerr-McGee Corporation had violated safety regulations.

When her car allegedly ran off the road, she was carrying this documentation to a meeting with a reporter and Steve Wodka, an OCAW international representative. Wodka was the featured speaker at the memorial meeting here.

Wodka stressed the importance of workers in the atomic and chemical industries fighting for health and safety on the job. He pointed out that, contrary to company propaganda, allowing companies to get away with unsafe conditions does not guarantee jobs.

Also speaking were Joey Crawford-Sevilla of the National Organization for Women; Tom Garczynski of the International Chemical Workers Union; attorney Terry Lodge, an antinuclear activist; and Susan Montauk of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Montauk concluded with a statement that summed up the spirit of the meeting. "When health is truly a right in this country," she said, "when environmentally-produced cancers are rare, rather than epidemic, we will finally be able to say that courageous fighters like Karen Silkwood did not die in vain."

# Boston: unions must take up nuke fight

By Mike Raskin

BOSTON—More than 125 people attended a labor forum on safe energy and full employment here November 13.

Held as a memorial for Karen Silkwood, the meeting was sponsored by the Labor Outreach Committee of the Physicians for Social Responsibility and endorsed by a number of local unions and labor officials.

Major speakers included Dick Greenwood, special assistant to International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger; Leslie

Sullivan, organizer for United Auto Workers District 65; State Rep. Mel King; and William Davis, chief investigator in the Silkwood case.

Davis told of uncovering ties between Kerr-McGee, Silkwood's employer, and private surveillance companies that also train agents for right-wing dictatorships such as those in Chile and in Iran under the shah.

Sullivan of the UAW said that "the unions must take up social and political issues like nuclear power to defeat the attacks of the corporations and the right."

# Jane Lee, TMI-area farmer, addresses W. Va. coal miners

By Linda May Flint

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Jane Lee, a fifty-seven-year-old dairy farmer who is a compelling opponent of nuclear power, addressed a statewide meeting of coal miners in Charleston, West Virginia, November 17. She also spoke at a meeting at the West Virginia University here November 19.

Jane Lee's farm is 3.5 miles from the crippled Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Well before the near-meltdown there, she began to observe increased health problems among animals and people in the immediate TMI area.

She began to document health problems among the farm animals in 1976. Her data show an alarming increase in spontaneous abortions, sterility, deformities, and mutations.

After the TMI accident, she found that these problems spread from a five-mile radius around TMI to a fifteen-mile radius.

She also began compiling



JANE LEE

evidence of health problems among people: increases in miscarriages, infant stillbirths, crib deaths, and children's diseases.

Many coal miners and other unionists had heard Lee at the National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment, held in Pittsburgh in mid-October. As a result, she was asked to be a keynote speaker at the state legislative conference of the Coal Miners

Political Action Committee (COMPAC), political arm of the United Mine Workers of America.

Lee's presentation to the COMPAC conference reportedly met with great interest and enthusiasm. Many wanted copies of her remarks to take back to their locals.

In Morgantown, Lee addressed a campus meeting chaired by L. Boyd of UMW Local 2095.

She condemned the failure of government and Nuclear Regulatory Commission officials to put the health and safety of people first.

"This is all about politics and profit—keep that profit margin at any cost, no matter what it costs in lives," she said.

Referring to the NRC and operators of nuclear plants, she told the audience, "They've got money, power, and influence, but you have the numbers, and you can do it. Believe in what you're doing and don't be intimidated by officials—organize!"

# NRC public hearings: 'a farce'

By Flora Norton

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) held the final public meeting on the Three Mile Island-Unit Two clean-up procedures here November 19.

The barely publicized meeting was the public's last chance to make comments, raise questions, or suggest changes.

About 100 people attended, including a group of Baltimore-area residents, who charged that the NRC was virtually ignoring the concerns of people who live downriver from the reactor.

NRC Chairman John

Ahearne claimed that "public health and safety is of paramount concern to the commission."

Speaker after speaker challenged this assertion, charging that the NRC is concerned only with the interests of the utility, Metropolitan Edison.

The NRC's public meetings are "a farce, a circus," they said.

The residents' accusations were belatedly substantiated November 20, when a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the NRC had violated the law last summer by allowing the venting of radioactive krypton gas from TMI without any public

hearings.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has ruled that community fears and psychological stress should not be considerations in its decision whether to restart the supposedly undamaged Unit One reactor at Three Mile Island.

The four-member NRC split two-two on the question December 5, but maintains that the vote "constitutes an effective denial."

Said Commissioner Joseph Hendrie: "Congress has already decided that the country is to have a nuclear power program even if it makes some people uneasy."

# Superfund or superfraud?

By Diane Jacobs

What's so super about Superfund, a bill that provides \$1.6 billion over five years to clean up toxic waste dumps?

Not much, in its final form.

The legislation was passed by the House on December 4 and awaits only the signature of the president to become law.

Sen. George Mitchell, a Maine Democrat and one of the original advocates of a toxic waste program, said of the bill:

"This Senate has made the judgment that property is more significant than human beings. None of us here should delude ourselves or the people of this country about what we have done."

"Most particularly, we must not delude the thousands of people who are victims, who are waiting for help."

He is referring to the bill's failure to compensate the human victims of toxic wastes for cancers, genetic damage, devaluation of personal property, or even death resulting from exposure to a dump site.

"Under the legislation," Mitchell said, "a guilty party [chemical company] cannot be held accountable for any damage it has inflicted on a person."

For example, Superfund will not cover any medical or relocation costs for the residents of Love Canal.

Nor will it place any sanctions on companies to discourage them from continuing to dump.

The greatest insult to working people is that 12.5 percent of the fund will come out of our taxes, thereby reducing the liability of the dumpers to 87.5 percent.

So what will it do? Superfund

is a classic piece of bandaid legislation. It will cover clean-up of chemical wastes from only the most visible and disgraceful dump sites.

A billion and a half dollars is nowhere near enough to tackle the problem.

As a spokesperson for the Environmental Protection Agency said, each time a new list of hazardous sites is released, it becomes outdated almost at once because of the uncovering of new danger areas.





# The Great Society

Harry Ring



And you're dubious about polls?—The AP reports that a special poll of "outstanding" high schoolers found that two-thirds favored draft registration. A majority are against ERA and abortion rights, and 61 percent favor nukes. Also, this same solid poll reported: 94 percent have never used drugs; 88 percent have never smoked; and 76 percent have not had sex.

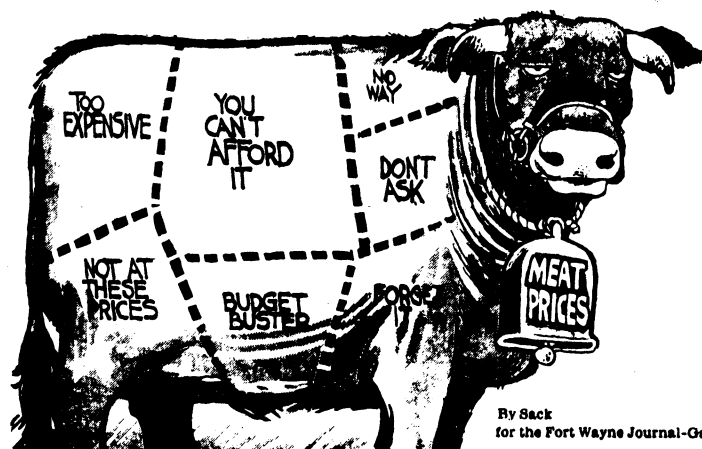
Heavy stuff—The *New York Times* reports that Reagan has contributed "about twenty tons" of his personal papers to the ultraconservative Hoover Institute. Twenty tons? Maybe it includes his movie scripts, like "Bedtime for Bonzo."

Virtues of free competition—A federal regulation may set a minimum

on the amount of cheese required in frozen pizza, plus labeling to indicate if it's real or artificial cheese. This followed impounding of a shipment of pizza with artificial cheese by the state of Wisconsin, center of the dairy industry.

Ethics dep't—A New York pasta wholesaler advises specialty shops they can boost sales by buying in bulk and cutting up the product in view of the customer. "They don't have to say it's homemade," he confided. "They don't even have to lie."

Suggestion box—Supermarket shoplifting has reportedly been reduced by a subliminal message machine which whispers, "I will not steal—I will go to



jail." And a real estate outfit says it's boosted sales with subliminal tapes telling sales people, "I love my job." Next, Muzak for production workers, plus: "I don't need a raise. I don't want a raise."

International problem—We inadvertently reported it as happening in San Francisco, but it was in Tokyo that an inebriated resident set fire to his apartment trying to burn out roaches with a cigarette lighter.

## Union Talk

### Modern barbarism

This week's column is by Kibwe Diarra, a member of United Transportation Union Local 21 at Chessie's Newport News coal pier.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Eric McGlone is a twenty-three-year-old Black rail worker and Navy vet. Recently he lost one of his legs.

The company says it was his fault, that had he worked with more caution, the accident would not have happened.

The truth is that Eric was up against something that stank—something that walks hand in hand with decaying capitalism—modern barbarism.

The jobs we do cannot be done safely. We ride loaded coal cars weighing up to 100 tons—and most times two cars are coupled together—down a 30 percent grade up to 300 yards long with only the hand brake to stop them.

Our other job is to get the cars moving. To do this, we use a plow-shaped instrument to push them. This is called "teasing."

Eric was "teasing" the morning he lost his leg.

These jobs pit human bone and muscle against tons of steel and coal. From the moment our job begins, safety is no more. You do this job over the

years without a major lost-time injury more by the laws of chance than anything else.

In seven months we have had at least twenty to twenty-five lost-time accidents out of a work force averaging around 110. Workers with as little as two days, and some with as much as thirty years, have been injured during that time.

Eric was the third worker here to receive a major leg injury. One had his leg broken in three places, another had bone chips removed from the knee area. Back, shoulder, neck, and head injuries have all made their stop here.

Eric and the others owe their injuries not to carelessness, or failure to observe safety procedures, but to a modern form of barbarism, which destroys the minds and bodies of thousands of workers each year.

This company's method of dumping coal is ancient, as far as technology goes. Totally automated coal dumping yards exist. The technology for them is known and available.

So why do frail humans have to pit themselves against hundreds of tons of moving steel and coal? The answer is readily available.

This company, like other capitalist concerns in

America, refuses to put their superprofits to work refitting, repairing, and upgrading plant facilities. Profits come before safety.

Workers themselves sometimes have to turn their backs on the real problem. If we argue for better plant facilities or for the latest technology to aid us in doing our jobs, the capitalists answer with plant closings and layoffs, and then blame workers for low productivity.

As a result, workers here and all over America must do our jobs on the brink of disaster every minute of the day, with little hope that things are going to get better.

Eric's case is not unusual. He was a casualty of the war between workers and the ruling rich.

To make the work place safe to work in, workers need to be in control of the plants. Whenever a capitalist says modernization is too costly or that layoffs will follow modernization, that plant should be nationalized under workers' control.

If the modern barbarians can't run the plants safely, efficiently and productively then we, the workers, should run them in our own interests. That should be our battle cry whenever the capitalists mention plant safety, low productivity, or inefficiency.

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

**EL SALVADOR: REPRESSION AND REVOLT.** Speakers: member of Casa El Salvador; Sandra Price, went to El Salvador on behalf of Social Justice Commission of Archdiocese of S.F., will show slide show of her trip. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO DENVER

**EVOLUTION VS. CREATIONISM.** Speaker: Tom Vernier, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**THE NEW BLACK PARTY.** Report from the Philadelphia convention where 1,500 delegates met to establish the National Black Independent Political Party. Speakers: Vashti Lewis, Black Studies Dept., University of Illinois, Circle Campus; Darlene Conley, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### NEW YORK MANHATTAN

**WHY AN INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY NOW?** A report on the recent Black political convention held in Philadelphia. Fri., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### OHIO CLEVELAND

**PROTEST GREENSBORO VERDICT: KLAN/NAZI MURDERERS SHOULD NOT GO FREE.** A videotape of the massacre will be shown. Speakers: Jim McNamara, member National Lawyers Guild and Those United to Fight Fascism, will report back on conference discussion of Klan and Nazis in Greensboro; C. Daniel Peacock, Greater Cleveland coordinator, Black Political Party; George Chomaiou, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Sat.-Sun., Dec. 20-21. Sat., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. "Why Working People Need a Labor Party." Speaker: Kipp Dawson, member, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, United Mine Workers Local 1197. Sun., Dec. 21, 12 noon "Why American Labor Needs Its Own Foreign Policy." Speaker: Mary Zins,

member, SWP and UMWA Local 2874. 2:30 p.m. "Questions Confronting Unions Today." A panel of socialist coal miners. 5 p.m. rally: "The Fight Against Government Harassment." Speakers: Marian Bustin and Larry Seigle discussing SWP lawsuit against the government.

Cost of classes and rally: \$6, or \$2 per session. All sessions at 1210 E. Carson St. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

### TEXAS HOUSTON

**CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR.** Speakers, workshops,

music. Film: *El Salvador: Revolution or Death*. Sun., Dec. 14, 3-6 p.m. Holy Name Church, 1917 Cochran. Ausp: Houston Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (713) 228-0091.

### SAN ANTONIO

**'EL SALVADOR: REVOLUTION OR DEATH.'** A film. Speaker: Antonio Cabral, editor, *El Pueblo* newspaper, Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

EVELYN REED  
Author of *Woman's Evolution*

## SEXISM & SCIENCE



### BY EVELYN REED

This book exposes the antiwoman, pseudoscientific bias that permeates biology, sociology, anthropology, and primatology today. It is a companion volume to Reed's major work, *Woman's Evolution*, which documents the preeminent role of women in the earliest and longest period of human history—prehistoric matriarchal society.

190 pages, paper \$3.95, cloth \$14.00

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

## Joe Hill

Sixty-five years ago Joe Hill was executed by a Utah firing squad. He had been harassed, threatened with deportation, and framed-up because he was a trade union militant and member of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Hill was celebrated for his songs, which dramatize the class-conscious philosophy of the IWW and reflect the spirit and humor of these militants. Many of them—"Rebel Girl," "Casey Jones—the Union Scab," "The Preacher and the Slave"—have become part of labor tradition.

His parents named him Joel Hägglund. After emigrating from Sweden in 1902, he worked in factories, as a miner, and seaman. He changed his name after being blacklisted for attempting to organize one machine shop where he worked.

In 1910 he joined the IWW, a revolutionary movement for industrial unionism in the early 1900s.

Any wage earner could be a member, regardless of occupation, race, creed, or sex. It didn't matter whether the worker was American or foreign born.

"Education," "Organization," and "Emancipation" were the stated goals of the "Wobblies" (IWW). Some of the best educational material the IWW published was in the *Little Red Song Book*, which they subtitled *Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent*. Joe Hill was one of the most talented contributors to this collection.

The Wobblies organized and led such historic class battles as the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts; the 1913 silk workers strike in Patterson, New Jersey; and the 1916 iron miners strike on the Mesabi Iron Range of Minnesota.

The government, determined to destroy the IWW, raided its meeting halls, blacklisted and deported its members.

Joe Hill was jailed on a trumped-up charge of murdering a Salt Lake City grocer and executed on November 19, 1915.

Belying statements that Hill's conviction was non-political were remarks by Utah's Governor Spry that, "We did our duty with Joe Hill, and we expect to do it with his lawless colleagues that have recently infested the city with threats and their presence."

Attacks on the IWW increased leading up to and during World War I, when the Wobblies took an antimilitarist stand and opposed U.S. entrance into the war. The IWW continued to lead strikes in contrast to the no-strike pledge of the American Federation of Labor.

A Tulsa, Oklahoma, paper wrote, "The first step in the whipping of Germany is to strangle the IWW's. Kill them, just as you would kill any other kind of snake."

Both Joe Hill's sense of humor and unbeatable militancy are captured in his farewell message to IWW leader Bill Haywood: "Goodbye Bill: I die like a true rebel. Don't waste any time mourning—organize! It is a hundred miles from here to



Wyoming. Could you arrange to have my body hauled to the state line to be buried? I don't want to be found dead in Utah. Joe Hill."

Printed below are words to one of Hill's songs.

Workers of the world, awaken!  
Break your chains, demand your rights.  
All the wealth you make is taken  
By exploiting parasites.  
Shall you kneel in deep submission  
From your cradles to your graves?  
Is the height of your ambition  
To be good and willing slaves?

Chorus

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!  
Fight for your own emancipation;  
Arise, ye slaves of every nation.  
In One Union grand.  
Our little ones for bread are crying,  
And millions are from hunger dying;  
The end the means is justifying,  
'Tis the final stand

If the workers take a notion,  
They can stop all speeding trains;  
Every ship upon the ocean  
They can tie with mighty chains.  
Every wheel in the creation,  
Every mine and every mill,  
Fleets and armies of the nation,  
Will at their command stand still.

Join the union, fellow workers,  
Men and women, side by side;  
We will crush the greedy shirkers  
Like a sweeping, surging tide;  
For united we are standing,  
But divided we will fall;  
Let this be our understanding—  
"All for one and one for all."

Workers of the world, awaken!  
Rise in all your splendid might;  
Take the wealth that you are making,  
It belongs to you by right.  
No one will for bread be crying,  
We'll have freedom, love and health.  
When the grand red flag is flying  
In the Workers' Commonwealth.

## Darwin & Einstein

I want to thank the *Militant* for publishing such great theoretical articles as the recent one on Darwin and evolution [see November 28 issue] and the one in the December 1979 issue on Einstein by the same author, Cliff Conner.

Conner, in an easily accessible language, has made clear how breakthroughs in science throughout the past century have shown the validity of dialectics in nature, dialectical materialism.

In addition to carrying out the important task of reporting on the world around us, the *Militant* does a great service to the workers movement in this country by educating and exciting readers regarding the theoretical basis of scientific socialism.

Daniela Dixon  
San Diego, California

## ISR, TMI, Greensboro

The recent *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*, with that long article about Darwin's theory of evolution, was excellent. Often I don't bother reading the *ISR* because it seems to be about the same subjects I see in the *Militant*, but this article on evolution was so good I am saving the issue.

I am also glad to have seen that interview with Jane Lee, the farmer from the Harrisburg area who told the truth about the dangers of radiation. I sent one copy of that article to a friend who naively believes nobody died from the Three Mile Island blast—maybe this will convince him of the dangers.

With the election of Ronald Reagan, local newspapers quoted Coretta Scott King and another Black leader (I forget who at the moment) as saying

we could not be complacent any more but had to get out there and keep fighting for what we ought to have.

After the travesty of justice in Greensboro, when the KKK and Nazis literally got away with murder, it is good to see that the *Militant* called for demonstrations to stop this kind of thing from happening again and again.

Amy Lowenstein  
Yardley, Pennsylvania

## Tax referenda

Remember Proposition 13? The much touted "bellweather" of fiscal conservatism, which the ruling class used to justify accelerated cutbacks in welfare, education, and other social services.

Well, the unreported story of this election year is that our purportedly rightward moving American electorate has far more reservations about such measures.

Although the media gave extensive play to the fact that Massachusetts voters adopted a property tax reduction measure, they failed to report that tax cut measures went down in defeat in Arizona, Iowa, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, and Michigan, where various tax referenda were held.

The story came to my attention through an article in the November 10 issue of *Chronicle of Higher Education*.  
Steve Millen  
Bloomington, Indiana

## Witch was she?

While I agree wholeheartedly with the political points Stu Singer makes in the recent "Learning About Socialism" column on pseudo-science and racism, I am disturbed that a couple of sexist terms were used.

## 'A song and dance'

Thought I'd send this along in the spirit of humor and lightheartedness in otherwise dismal times.

The "Ronald Reagan" ditty is an adaptation I made from one of Tom Lehrer's satirical songs taken from his album, "That

Was The Year That Was." The song was originally entitled "George Murphy" and referred to Murphy's election as senator; but the Reagan adaptation seemed equally appropriate.  
Angie Remedi  
Santa Monica, California

## RONALD REAGAN

Hollywood's often tried to mix show business with politics . . . from George Murphy to Shirley Temple . . . But Ronald Reagan is the star who's done the best by far—

Oh, gee, it's great,  
At last we have a President who can really sing and dance.  
How can we expect America to win against its foes without someone in the White House who can really tap his toes . . .

The movies that you've seen on your television screen show his legislative talents at a glance.  
Should Americans pick crops?

Ron says no,  
'cause no one but a Mexican would stoop so low.  
And, after all, even in Egypt, the Pharaohs had to import Hebrew bracers.

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Imagine Broadway Melody of 1984!

Now that he's the President, he's really got the chance to give the public—a song and dance!

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# Learning About Socialism

We do not, to my knowledge, refer to people—especially women!—as “witches,” unless they choose that name for themselves.

As the leading paper for scientific socialism, I feel we should be conscious of the terms we use. There are plenty of good, non-sexist and non-racist terms to use for mystic charlatans, quacks, and con artists of the Dorothy Allison type.

Jeff Stephenson  
Toledo, Ohio

[Stu Singer replies—The November 21 column on “Clairvoyant racism” referred to the Atlanta police Department hiring Dorothy Allison, who de-



scribes herself as “clairvoyant,” to “solve” the murders of Black children in that city.

[I referred to Allison as a witch. She can also be referred to as a “mystic charlatan, quack, and con artist” as Jeff Stephenson suggests.

[There's a reason Allison and the cops prefer the term “clairvoyant.” It is an unfamiliar word that sounds “scientific.” Witch does not have the same connotation.

[According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, a witch is “one supposed to possess supernatural powers.” That is what Dorothy Allison and all her supporters claim for her.

[The Encyclopedia Britanica explains: “the term commonly has referred to the believed use of supernatural means for harmful, evil ends.”

[My column pointed out the racist and reactionary ends of Allison and the Atlanta cops in covering up the killings of Black children.

[The accompanying photo shows Allison wearing badges from some of the police departments where she has done her witch act.

[Calling her a witch is not sexist.

[The point of the article is to expose another part of the attack by the rulers of this country against Blacks, women, and workers in general.

[As Jeff Stephenson would agree, you don't need clairvoyance or witchcraft to see it.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

## Are ESP & materialism compatible?

### A reader's comments:

I found the Learning About Socialism column “Clairvoyant racism” [November 21] to be below the high standard of scientific examination usually set by the *Militant*. The column equated the use of a “psychic” for crime solving with the flight of the cop apparatus from the pursuit of justice for Black people. To my knowledge, “psychics” have been used with success in solving murders, the Boston Strangler slayings being one example. The performance of Dutch psychic Gerard Croiset may be another.

One of the most inspiring aspects of a world without capitalism is the freeing of science for the exploration of human potential. “Psychic phenomena,” an uncharted region today, will perhaps become the acquisition of a fully conscious humanity when science can be subordinated to its needs. In any event, until that time revolutionary socialists have nothing to gain from attempting to disregard or ridicule phenomena which *do* exist but are scientifically unexplainable. This leaves the field wide open for religious and metaphysical nostrum peddlers.

The approach of Soviet scientists toward “psi” (field of the paranormal) is useful here. Their attempts have been directed toward actually measuring the phenomena under rigidly controlled conditions. Their efforts are buttressed by the conviction of many that “psi” phenomena are the property of all human beings, if properly developed.

Sara Smith  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Stu Singer replies:

The points raised by Sara Smith are encountered frequently. I want to respond to them briefly this week.

She claims, “‘psychics’ have been used with success in solving murders.”

That is false.

In 1978 the director of behavioral science services for the Los Angeles police, Martin Reiser, set up an experiment to investigate how useful people who claim to be psychics are in solving crimes. He found the “psychics” mostly guessed that the crimes involved a female prostitute murdered by a male. Or that the “Hillside Strangler” was involved. That was a well-publicized West Coast case at the time.

The psychics' solutions were as good as any other guesses, no better.

But there continues to be no lack of claims, especially by police, that psychics solve crimes.

Why?

Lies and superstition are as much a part of the police arsenal as guns, clubs, tear gas and jails.

Cops are not hired for their intelligence. Most probably believe in all sorts of superstitions. But there are other reasons for the stories about psychics solving crimes. Giving credit to a psychic can help cops frame someone up. Promoting belief in superstition is part of the ruling class shift to the right.

The Atlanta case is one of the worst examples ever. Black children are killed. The cops and ruling class are involved in the racist conspiracy. So they bring in their psychic to say the killer is a Black man.

That psychic is no harmless faker. And the cops aren't doing this just because they're dumb.

Sara Smith says she thinks science will be free to explore “psychic phenomena” when there is a world without capitalism.

But we don't have to wait.

There are departments of major universities, courses, and research centers now. In the United States the Parapsychological Research Association was admitted ten years ago into the American Association for the Advancement of Science. As Sara Smith points out, in the Soviet Union there is also extensive research.

Much of this research is serious. It is done honestly, under the kind of rigorously controlled conditions that characterize scientific investigation.

What has the research turned up?

Nothing.

Capitalism is not holding back the research. I think capitalism is encouraging it.

Scientific advances will be used for human needs under socialism. But that does not mean science itself will change.

Years of scientific research have failed to produce evidence for the existence of any of the following psychic (psi) or paranormal phenomena: extra sensory perception (ESP), telekinesis, teleportation, psychokinesis (PK), clairvoyance, astral projection, precognition, psychic healing or psychic surgery, reincarnation, flying saucers, ghosts, astrology, poltergeists, biorhythms, angels, demons, devils, sorcerers, the Abominable Snowman, or Bigfoot.

It makes no difference if the scientists are in the Soviet Union or the United States. They have still come up with nothing.

The most important book by Marx or Engels on science is *The Dialectics of Nature*. In addition to chapters such as heat, electricity, and the part played by labor in the transition from ape to man, this book by Engels included one called natural science and the spirit world.

In this work on science, he attacked the major beliefs in pseudo-science of that time. One hundred years later, the same superstitions persist.

*The Dialectics of Nature* is available for \$3.50 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or from the offices listed below.

One of the best books I know concerning pseudo-science is *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science* by Martin Gardner. It is from Dover Publications in New York (\$3.50) and can be ordered through a bookstore.

There is a group called the “Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal” based in Buffalo, New York. It consists mainly of scientists, but also writers, and at least one professional magician. They publish a quarterly journal called the *Skeptical Inquirer*. Subscriptions are \$15 a year. The address is: *Skeptical Inquirer*, Box 29, Kensington Station, Buffalo, New York 14215.

This group and their publication have done the most consistent work I am aware of in exposing and debunking pseudo-scientific myths.

The magazine is well worth reading.

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# THE MILITANT

## Behind new crackdown on human rights in Haiti

### Exiled leaders: 'Stop U.S. aid to Duvalier regime!'

By Andrea Baron and Caryn Swan

MIAMI—The Haitian government of President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier has rounded up, tortured and jailed at least 200 journalists, human rights activists, and opposition leaders in a sweep of arrests that began November 28. The arrests have led to the virtual silencing of all independent news coverage in the country.

The government has told those arrested that they must leave Haiti and not return. Nine have already come to the United States.

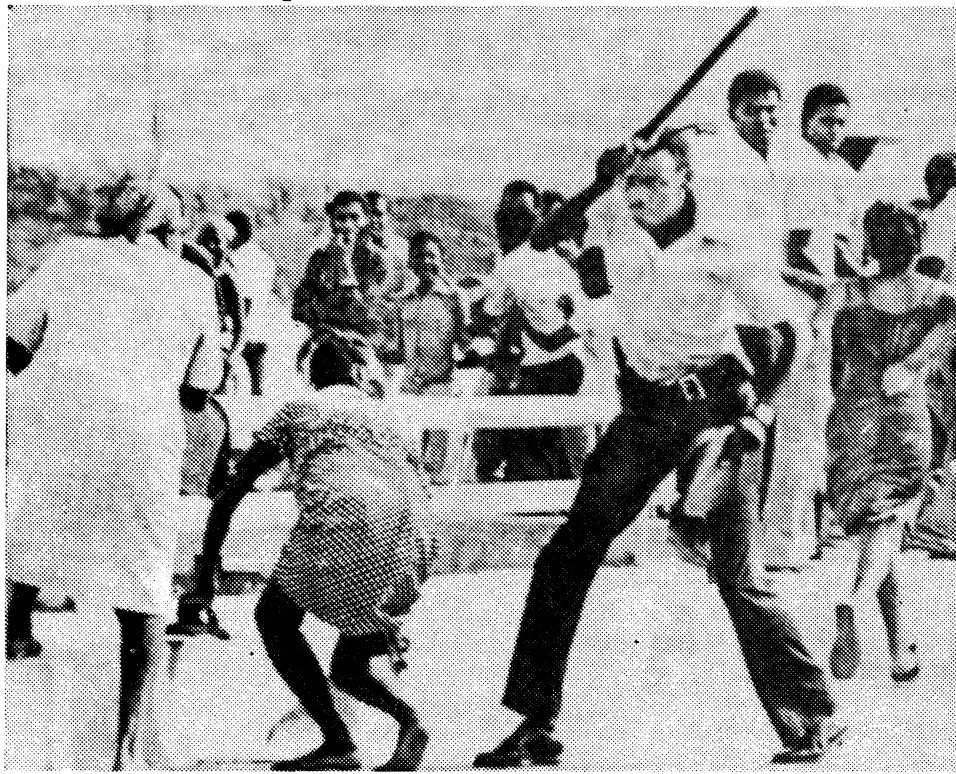
Among those arrested are Lafontant Joseph, secretary-general of the Haitian League for Human Rights and attorney for imprisoned Christian Democratic Party leader Sylvio Claude, and Grégoire Eugène, leader of the Social Christian Party.

The Haitian government has asked Washington to issue visas for some of the oppositionists and journalists.

The *Miami News* reports that Secretary of State Edmund Muskie will issue a decision within a week. Washington is clearly balking, however.

As the December 5 *New York Times* noted, "The decision could have far-reaching implications if it is used as a precedent by the Haitians now seeking political asylum in the United States, where the Government has contended they are economic, not political, refugees."

There are at least 25,000 to 30,000 Haitians seeking asylum in the U.S.



Duvalier's cops attack crowd that gathered to greet returning refugees November 16.

In addition to the arrests, an anti-government demonstration at Chez le Comte, a college in Port-au-Prince, was broken up by campus police on December 4, according to the *Miami News*.

A pro-government rally was staged in Port-au-Prince the same day. It consisted of secret police, military personnel, uniformed children excused

from school, and people bused from the countryside.

Duvalier said there that the journalists and oppositionists were deported because they "went too far in criticizing the government and its people to the point where it bordered on subversive activities."

Among other things, Duvalier is referring to the publicity given to the

Cayo Lobos incident.

Two hundred and eight Haitians were stranded on the small island of Cayo Lobos early in November. When they were forced to return to Haiti, they refused for fear of imprisonment and murder by the police.

The incident received international news coverage and forced the Haitian government to put on a show for press from around the world, who were in Port-au-Prince to cover the return of the refugees.

The government gave out food, money, and medical attention to the refugees. However, a *Miami Herald* reporter noted that secret police were dressed as Red Cross workers and refused to let reporters interview the returning refugees.

Some reporters were attacked with clubs, and police beat back a crowd of several hundred Haitians who tried to approach the unloading area.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Kern Grand-Pierre, one of the newly exiled journalists, explained what has happened since the return of the refugees.

Grand-Pierre is the editor of the Haitian weekly newspaper, *Inter-Jeunes*. On November 28 most of the staff of his paper was arrested. Grand-Pierre was in the U.S. at the time covering the presidential elections and now cannot return home.

"Now that the foreign journalists are gone," he said, "the government is free to act. Twenty-one of the people from

*Continued on page 24*

## Grenadian consul tours Bay Area

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—"Mr. Burke, what is the relationship of the Grenadian revolution to Cuba?"

"What does Grenada think of the situation in El Salvador?"

"What were the conditions that led the Grenadian people to revolt March 13, 1979?"

"What can Americans do to help Grenada?"

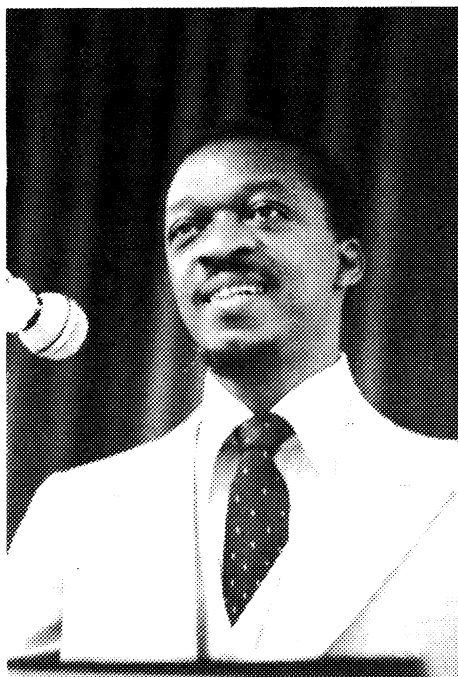
These were some of the questions put to Joseph Kanute Burke, Consul General to North America from the Caribbean island nation of Grenada.

His two-week tour of the northern California Bay Area was sponsored by the newly formed chapters of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society in San Francisco, San Jose, and the East Bay.

Burke addressed enthusiastic audiences at seventeen public meetings in seven cities. There were extensive radio, television, and press interviews.

Burke met with a number of public officials including representatives of Congressman Ron Dellums, who was a sponsor of the tour; Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport; Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson; Oakland School Superintendent Ruth Love; Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr., and State Assemblyman Elihu Harris.

The Oakland City Council and the California state legislature passed re-



Militant/Della Rossa

Grenada's Consul General Burke

solutions to commend Grenada for the literacy campaign and other social measures. The Oakland Board of Education has sent books to Grenada to help the literacy drive.

Burke took the opportunity of his meetings to express solidarity with the

people of El Salvador. He participated in an emergency rally organized in San Francisco to protest the murders of leaders of the opposition in El Salvador.

In San Jose he addressed a rally of 250 people. His talk was translated into Spanish. He explained that the Grenadian revolution was not exported from anywhere.

"The hand that holds the iron knows the heat well," he said. "The same people who now talk about 'rebels,' 'communists,' and 'guerrillas' never said a word about the oppression of our people."

At the meetings he explained the priority given by the Grenadian government to education, health care, women's rights, and workers' rights. Most of the audiences he addressed were predominately Blacks and Latinos. They were particularly receptive to these reports, in contrast to the cutbacks and attacks faced in the same areas here.

Burke spoke about the important contribution the twelve Cuban medical teams have made to his country. "We lived under British rule for nearly 300 years and there was virtually no medical care for our people. Now we have free medical care for everyone."

His meetings included colleges and

high schools and Black and Latino organizations.

At San Jose City College he shared the platform with Kwame Touré, formerly Stokely Carmichael. Touré embraced Burke and spoke warmly about the Grenadian revolution.

Burke addressed a regular meeting of the San Francisco Central Labor Council. He was introduced by Secretary Treasurer John Crowley.

At this meeting he explained that under the dictatorship of Eric Gairy all government workers had to belong to Gairy's union in order to hold a job.

In Grenada today, he said, "more than 80 percent of our work force is organized. By law, employers must immediately recognize any union selected by the workers."

He was applauded when he told the seventy union delegates that Grenada had passed laws guaranteeing women maternity benefits and equal pay for equal work.

He also addressed the executive board of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in the Bay Area, where he discussed the history of the New Jewel Movement, the leadership of the Grenadian revolution.

He was interviewed by *Black Scholar* magazine, which is planning an

*Continued on page 24*